

The Atlantic Monthly

APRIL 1994

What is Political Leadership?

Waffling?

Acting?

Following
the polls?

Yes.



GARRY WILLS
describes
the leadership
of Franklin
Roosevelt, a
great President
with many of
the traits
we curse in
contemporary
politicians





As the Dilgards picked up their second SL2 from Connie Reinbart at Saturn of Toledo, they said, "Hey, you've got to protect yourself—you never know what you might go flying into."

A bee flew through the sunroof of the Dilgards' Saturn and they all drove into a telephone pole. Somehow, even the bee came out okay.

It was one of those hot summer days when melting doesn't seem out of the question. Todd had been out playing golf all day and Kelly was looking forward to dinner in a nice, *climate-controlled* restaurant.

The Dilgards were cruising along in their SL2 with the sunroof and the windows open, trying to create some kind of breeze. Suddenly, a particularly large, hairy bumblebee appeared, buzzing around right under the Dilgards' noses.



The perpetrator of the Dilgards' mishap goes by the oddly appropriate name Bombus americanorum.

Trying to shoo the bee away, Todd used perhaps a little too much body English and their car veered off the road. And into a telephone pole. The impact levelled the pole and made quite an impression on the Saturn. It also made quite an impression on all the people who then showed up—police, onlookers, and even the phone company guys—because the Saturn was totalled and the Dilgards seemed, well, pretty much okay. Todd and Kelly, although a bit achy from being thrown against their seat belts, were so pleased with the way everyone in the car had walked (or flown) away from the accident that they immediately bought a second Saturn. And it was so much like their first one that you probably couldn't tell them apart, except for one notable difference. Their new SL2 has air conditioning.



The Saturn SL2

A Different Kind of Company. A Different Kind of Car.

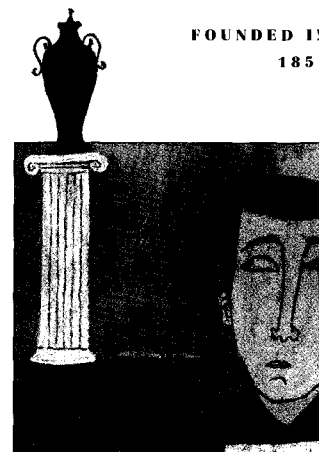
The Dilgards are pictured with a 1994 Saturn SL2. Anti-lock brakes are available on all 1994 Saturns, and all models feature a standard driver-side airbag. (Always wear seat belts, even with airbags.) If you'd like to know more about the safety features on our new sedans, coupes, and wagons, please call us any time at 1-800-522-5000. © 1993 Saturn Corporation.



Page 98



Page 42



Page 24

REPORTS

24 Notes & Comment: On One Condition

Potential for mischief along the seams that connect the generations.

by Cullen Murphy

28 Cities: Wild About Convention Centers

Hundreds of cities have built or are planning to build convention centers as a way of fueling the local economy. Most of them are destined to become costly failures.

by Lawrence Tabak

42 Foreign Affairs: China's Gilded Age

China's vaunted new prosperity is for real, but so are corruption and the widening—and destabilizing—gap in living standards between city and country.

by Xiao-huang Yin

63 What Makes a Good Leader?

"We like to believe," the author writes, "that in some golden age there were leaders of such recognized integrity that the American people simply accepted their determinations, issued from on high." But in truth, he argues, the most effective leaders have often demonstrated subservience to public opinion and a willingness to abandon principle for the sake of compromise—qualities not necessarily held in high esteem.

by Garry Wills

84 The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau

The flow of immigrants into Wausau, Wisconsin—mostly Southeast Asians—was turned on in the late 1970s and has yet to be turned off. The result: a preview of the tensions that may soon afflict many other American communities.

by Roy Beck



HUMOR, FICTION, & POETRY

68 What the Living Do

A poem
by Marie Howe

81 Thalassa! Thalassa!

A drawing
by Guy Billout

90 Man Eating

A poem
by Jane Kenyon

98 O Lonesome Day That Ends in Shame

A short story
by Andrew Fox

ARTS & LEISURE

54 Travel: The Pull of Puglia

The Baroque and rural charms of the peninsula that forms Italy's heel.

by Corby Kummer

108 Movies: An Independent Vision

Reflections on the work of Hal Hartley, a writer and director who, the author says, "dares to make smart, small pictures that won't please everyone."

by Douglas Bauer

115 Computers: Serious Fun

A guide to educational software for children—and an introduction to some of

the design principles underlying that software.

by Sarah Finnie Rockwell

BOOKS

121 Penumbras Formed by Emanations

Liberty and Sexuality: The Right to Privacy and the Making of Roe v. Wade, by David J. Garrow

by Jeffrey Rosen

127 A Troubled Social Science

The Decomposition of Sociology, by Irving Louis Horowitz

by Nathan Glazer

131 Brief Reviews

by Phoebe-Lou Adams

OTHER DEPARTMENTS

4 745 Boylston Street/ Contributors

8 Letters

20 The April Almanac

107 The Puzzler

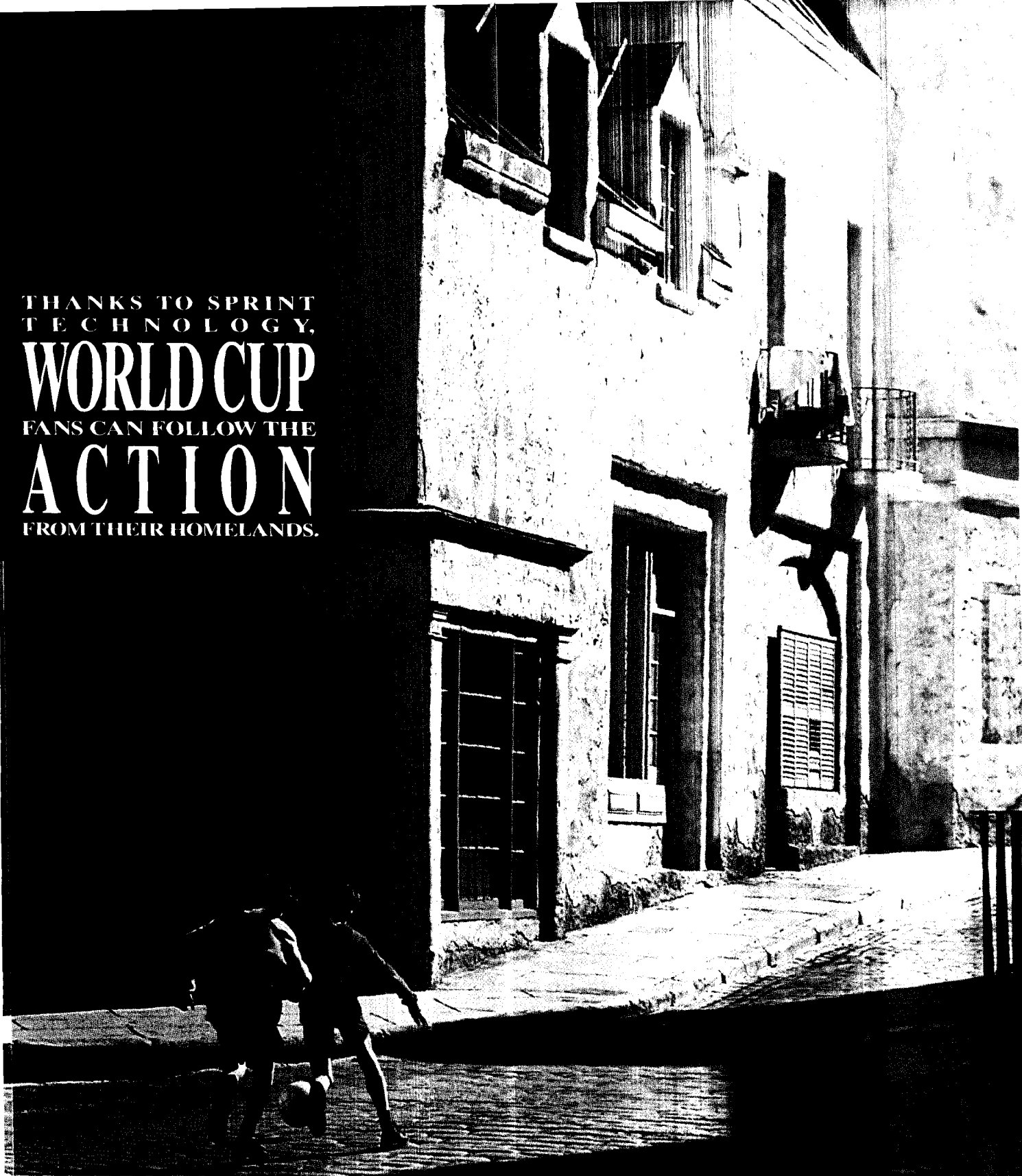
by Emily Cox and
Henry Rathvon

135 Word Watch

by Anne H. Soukhanov

Cover art
by Hanoch Piven

THANKS TO SPRINT
TECHNOLOGY,
WORLD CUP
FANS CAN FOLLOW THE
ACTION
FROM THEIR HOMELANDS.



A mountain village in France. A trade center in the Far East. From every corner of the world, soccer fans follow the World Cup. And Sprint makes sure they don't miss any of the action. More than 5,000 reporters from 143 countries use Sprint's fiber optic network to access data from World Cup headquarters. And send it on to fans worldwide over fax, data and voice lines. That's the power of Sprint technology. At play. 1-800-PIN-DROP.



Sprint.

Be there now.

.....
WorldCupUSA94



745 BOYLSTON STREET

"THE American commonwealth could never have been founded if the first European colonists had been of peasant stock. It is doubtful whether it can be maintained if its preservation comes to depend upon such men." The words are from *The Atlantic Monthly*, and were published a hundred years ago. The context was the continuing influx into the United States of millions of immigrant peasants from Southern and Eastern Europe. The words reflect an attitude that is woven throughout the nation's history.

But so do words like these: "By taking the lowest places in industry and agriculture and, as consumers, by expanding domestic markets, the new immigrants helped those who were here earlier to advance into superior clerical, managerial, or professional positions."

That observation appeared in these pages forty years ago. The context was the passage of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act, designed to keep immigration confined to narrow, and specific, channels.

The story of the United States is, of course, in large measure a story of immigration, and debate on the subject has ever

swung hotly between opposing poles of "too much" and "not enough." When the debate is not about the numbers themselves, it is about the kind of people they represent. Now as in the past, one thing can be said about those on all sides of the immigration debate: they don't get bogged down in abstractions. The sheer fact of immigration is all around us.



The insistent attempt over the years to think immigration through has frequently been reflected in *The Atlantic's* pages, sometimes in the form of commentary, sometimes in the form of hard reporting. Roy Beck's article in this issue, "The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau," combines the two. Wausau, Wisconsin, endured an influx of immigrants—Germans and Poles—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in the

ensuing decades absorbed them into American life. Beck offers an intimate account of how a new wave of immigration—Southeast Asians, this time—has brought profound and disturbing changes to Wausau. He also raises this question: Do we need a "cooling-off period" with respect to immigration which will allow us to absorb the millions of recent arrivals? —THE EDITORS

Courtesy of Marathon County Historical Society

CONTRIBUTORS

Douglas Bauer ("An Independent Vision") is a novelist whose books include *Dexterity* (1989) and *The Very Air* (1993). His articles have appeared in *Esquire* and *The New York Times Magazine*.

Roy Beck ("The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau") is the Washington editor of *The Social Contract*, a quarterly journal. He is the author of *On Thin Ice: A Religion Reporter's Memoir* (1988). Beck's new book, *Prophets and Politics: A Handbook on the Washington Offices of the U.S. Churches*, will be published this spring.

Guy Billout ("Thalassa! Thalassa!") has received many awards for his magazine and advertising work, including gold and silver medals from the Society of Illustrators. He has also written and illustrated many children's books, including *Journey*, which was published last fall.

Andrew Fox ("O Lonesome Day That Ends in Shame") lives in Prague, where he teaches English and writes fiction.

Nathan Glazer ("A Troubled Social Science") is a professor emeritus of education and sociology at Harvard University. He is the author or co-author of numerous books, including *The Limits of Social Policy* (1988) and, with Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1970).

Marie Howe ("What the Living Do") is the author of *The Good Thief* (1988), a collection of poems, and the editor of *In the Company of My Solitude*, a prose anthology about AIDS, to be published this fall.

Jane Kenyon ("Man Eating") lives in New Hampshire. She is the author of *The Boat of Quiet Hours* (1986), *Let Evening Come* (1990), and *Constance* (1993).

Hanoch Piven (cover artist) was born in Uruguay and raised in Israel. He came to the United States in 1987 and graduated from the School of Visual Arts in New York City in 1992. His work has appeared in *The New Yorker*, *Time*, *New York*, and *Ms*.

Sarah Finnie Rockwell ("Serious Fun") is the editorial promotion manager of *The Atlantic*.

Jeffrey Rosen ("Penumbrae Formed by Emanations") is the legal-affairs editor of *The New Republic*.

Lawrence Tabak ("Wild About Convention Centers") is a freelance writer who has written on such varied subjects as tennis, the travel industry, and prairie ecology.

Garry Wills ("What Makes a Good Leader?") is a former Henry R. Luce Professor of American Culture and Public Policy at Northwestern University. He is the author of numerous books, including *Reagan's America* (1987), *Under God* (1990), and the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (1992). Wills's article in this issue of *The Atlantic* is drawn from his book *Certain Trumpets: The Call of Leaders*, to be published next month by Simon & Schuster.

Xiao-huang Yin ("China's Gilded Age") teaches at Occidental College, in Los Angeles. He is also an associate of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University and a translator of *Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao* (1989).

Take A Close Look At Most Credit
Cards, And You'll See How *Thin*
They Really Are. Take a close look at Gold

MasterCard®, on the other hand, and you'll see that no



card is more accepted on the planet. You'll

see that if you get sick in Tokyo (or Topeka, for that

matter), the MasterAssist™ plan* could help

you find a doctor. You'll also see a credit

line of at least \$5,000. And a really neat little

hologram. *Gold MasterCard.* It's more than a

gold card. It's smart money.™



*MasterAssist Medical Protection. Certain restrictions apply. © 1993 MasterCard International Incorporated.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RECOGNIZING A GREAT YEAR AND NOT FORGETTING HOW WE GOT THERE

Last year, Merrill Lynch was responsible to more countries, companies and individuals, with more underwriting and financial advice in more markets and across more borders, than any firm in history.

We succeeded, as always, by letting our principles light our way; by focusing on our clients and building long-term relationships with them; by using teamwork to deliver seamless integration of our services; by respecting our clients and colleagues as individuals; by acting as responsible citizens in the communities where we live and work; and above all, by maintaining our reputation for integrity.

The world changed greatly in 1993. People, nations, capital, and markets all grew closer, creating unprecedented opportunities for the growth and prosperity of humankind. But while the world grows smaller, it also grows more complex. More than ever, helping clients navigate in this complex global marketplace requires global resourcefulness, strategic perspective and creativity.

1993 was also a year in which the world increasingly recognized these qualities in Merrill Lynch. Our firm was cited as "Equity House of the Year" by *International Financing Review* and as "best overall manager of corporate financings" by *Corporate*

Finance. The landmark transactions that Merrill Lynch joint lead-managed for YPF, and lead-managed for Simon Property Group and Fannie Mae, were named "Deals of the Year" by *Investment Dealer's Digest*. In a survey by Towers Perrin, senior bank executives rated Merrill Lynch "the best managed non-bank retailer" in the U.S.

More important than any of these honors, however, is the trust that our clients continue to place in us. Last year, assets entrusted to us by individual clients grew to nearly \$540 billion—more than any other firm. Clients continued to seek planning advice and guidance from our Financial Consultants, the most extensively trained in the industry.

Fifty-four years ago, our founder, Charles E. Merrill, declared: "Our clients' interests must come first. Upon our ability to satisfy them rests our chance to succeed."

We'll stand by that statement. It got us where we are. We know it will still make a difference fifty-four years from now.

The difference is Merrill Lynch.



A tradition of trust.



Editor
WILLIAM WHITWORTH

Washington Editor
JAMES FALLOWS

Senior Editors
JACK BEATTY, C. MICHAEL CURTIS,
CORBY KUMMER, BARBARA WALLRAFF

Managing Editor
CULLEN MURPHY

Art Director
JUDY GARLAN

National Correspondents
KATIE LEISHMAN, NICHOLAS LEMANN

Associate Editors
PETER DAVISON (*poetry*), AMY MEEKER,
SUE PARILLA, MARTHA SPAULDING

Staff Writer
PHOEBE-LOU ADAMS

Staff Editors
LESLIE CAULDWELL, AVRIL CORNEL, STEVEN CRAMER,
LUCIE PRINZ, SCOTT STOSSEL, LOWELL WEISS

Art Staff
ROBIN GILMORE-BARNES, Associate Art Director
ELIZABETH URRICO, Assistant Art Director
GILLIAN KAHN, Art Assistant

Assistants to the Editors
KATHERINE GUCKENBERGER, AMY LEVINE,
YVONNE ROLZHAUSEN

Editorial Promotion Manager
SARAH FINNIE ROCKWELL

Contributing Editors and Correspondents
ROY BLOUNT JR., FRANCIS DAVIS,
GREGG EASTERBROOK, SEYMOUR M. HERSH,
ROBERT D. KAPLAN, TRACY KIDDER,
WILLIAM LANGWIESCHE, JAMES ALAN MCPHERSON,
CHARLES C. MANN, CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN,
THOMAS POWERS, WILLIAM SCHNEIDER

Chairman
MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN

Vice Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
FRED DRASNER

President and Publisher
JAYNE YOUNG

Senior Vice President
KIMBERLY SMITH JENSEN

Associate Publisher
CINDY J. STILL

Advertising, New York
FRANCES LANGBECKER, Vice President/Ad Director
Managers: KATIE BERRY, JULIE B. FLAHERTY,
MARIE ISABELLE, JEFFREY MINDHAM,
LINDA M. SHAUGHNESSY, KATIE WALLA

Advertising, Regional
DONNA PALMER, Vice President, West Coast
MARA HART FILO, Vice President, Detroit
CHRISTOPHER SCHUBA, Manager, Chicago

Marketing & Public Relations
ALISON FRASER, Marketing Director
TAMMY LASPALAKIS, Promotion Manager
CHRISTINE CORASANITI, Research Manager
JANE NAWROCKI, Marketing Coordinator
JAMES LONG, Public Relations Consultant

Circulation
JOHN L. BROWN, Circulation Manager
ADAM R. COHEN, Circulation Promotion Manager
KATHRYN A. HAGGITT, Assistant Promotion Manager
JOHN KALINOWSKI, Single-Copy Sales Director

Special Projects
KATHARINE BACON, JENNIFER COLES,
MARTIN KEOHAN, JOHN ROBERTS, CANDICE WHITE

Production
JAN MORRIS, Production Director
MICHAEL JONES, TED GRESH, JOSEPH O'CONNELL

Finance
MICHAEL J. DRNACH, Business Manager
DEBI HOFFENBERG, MIKE KIMBALL, MICHAEL KUBIT,
MURIEL MONTEIRO, MIYOUNG PARK,
VIOLA WILSON

LETTERS

Economic Doctrines

James Fallows's analysis in "Looking at the Sun" (November *Atlantic*) damns the United States for free enterprise and praises Japan for government intervention. But the United States in the late twentieth century is not a fountain of free enterprise where companies can grow and prosper without government regulation, and modern Japan is hardly a centrally controlled socialist state.

The level of taxes and government-mandated spending in the United States is 51 percent, more than twice the level faced by the Japanese. Is it really so surprising that Japanese businesses "have more money"? Can anyone doubt that a 50 percent across-the-board tax cut would boost U.S. competitiveness?

With respect to the failure of American companies to maintain their lead in the semiconductor business, keep in mind that 36 percent of research and development in the United States is funded through government agencies, as opposed to two percent in Japan. In Japan companies can act quickly to fill market needs, using their own money to fund new-product research and development. In the United States we first tax a sizable percentage of the money away from the profitable companies and then create a multi-year government-run program to develop the technology and distribute the money. This process often favors political influence over merit, and places Washington bureaucrats with little technical and business skill in charge of high-technology development. After the project is completed, companies must spend additional resources to redirect their organizations to manufacture and sell commercially viable products. Is it any wonder that Japan is beating the pants off us?

American companies are also burdened by antitrust and other antibusiness laws. Japanese businessmen are often mystified by past successful attempts by

the U.S. government to weaken the competitive positions of such former powerhouses as AT&T, IBM, and GM. In Japan, in contrast, the government encourages success and large companies are common. Hitachi, for example, is larger than AT&T, IBM, GM, and Exxon combined. Japanese companies also benefit from forming alliances with banks and other financial institutions; such alliances are banned in the United States. Currently Microsoft is threatened by the U.S. government for being so successful in the computer-software market. The Japanese government would never consider weakening the competitive position of Nintendo, the Japanese game maker, even though Nintendo has a larger share of the electronic-games market than Microsoft has of the software market.

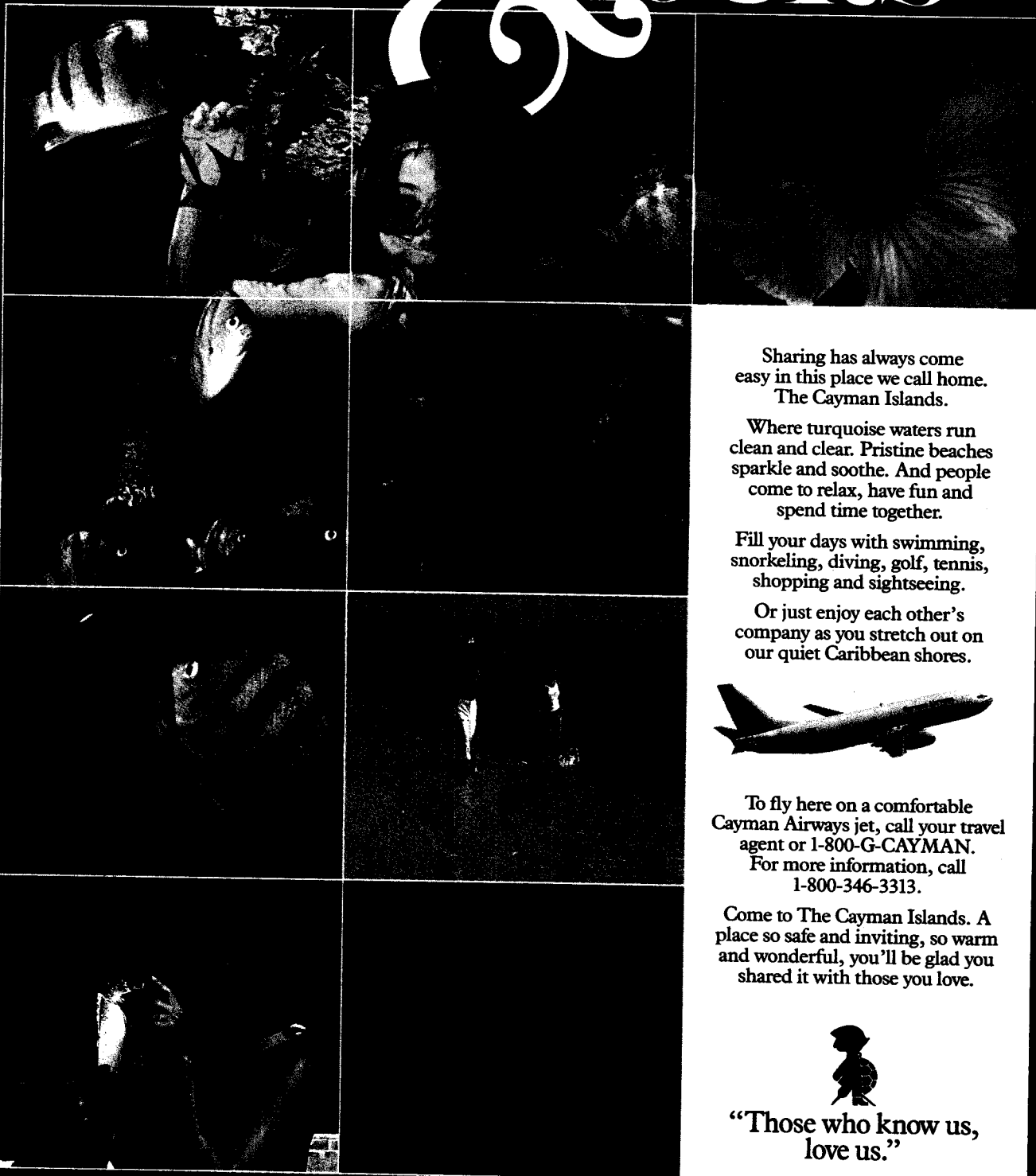
Clearly the rules governing American economic life are wrong. But it is also wrong to say that these rules are based on free enterprise when we are one of the most highly taxed and highly regulated countries on earth. It is doubly wrong to say that Japanese success is derived from government regulation when businesses in Japan are some of the freest on earth. The Japanese lesson is simple: an economy based on lower taxes, less regulation, less government-sponsored R&D, and less government hostility toward successful companies will beat a highly taxed and highly regulated economy every time.

Zoltan Cendes
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Re "Looking at the Sun" and "How the World Works" (December *Atlantic*):

We are delighted to see James Fallows address the issue of the government's responsibility for supporting the competitiveness of the U.S. semiconductor industry. Trade statistics do support the argument that the United States began losing its technical and commercial hegemony in semiconductors to foreign competitors after the Japanese government sponsored its very-large-scale-integration program

THE CAYMAN ISLANDS OURS & YOURS



Sharing has always come
easy in this place we call home.
The Cayman Islands.

Where turquoise waters run
clean and clear. Pristine beaches
sparkle and soothe. And people
come to relax, have fun and
spend time together.

Fill your days with swimming,
snorkeling, diving, golf, tennis,
shopping and sightseeing.

Or just enjoy each other's
company as you stretch out on
our quiet Caribbean shores.



To fly here on a comfortable
Cayman Airways jet, call your travel
agent or 1-800-G-CAYMAN.

For more information, call
1-800-346-3313.

Come to The Cayman Islands. A
place so safe and inviting, so warm
and wonderful, you'll be glad you
shared it with those you love.



"Those who know us,
love us."

ALL CARS SPEND THEIR fair share of time in wind tunnels.

But they don't all emerge looking as striking as Jaguars.

Which explains—in part—why so many otherwise level-headed individuals fall immediately and desperately in love with our automobiles.

But as careful as we've been to protect our styling heritage, that hasn't kept us from zealously improving our auto-

mobiles. Those of you who haven't driven a Jaguar of late will be delighted by the hundreds of important changes we've made

A design that doesn't change

over the past three years. For the 1994 XJ6, they include a dual air bag supplemental restraint system, a refined electrical



Enjoy tomorrow, buckle up today. *For new 1994 vehicles purchased or financed or leased through Jaguar Credit through May 31, 1994. Limit

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system, additional sound-proofing, and even better ride and handling.

Today our commitment to quality can

any of our models within 30 days of purchase if you're not totally satisfied. To further ensure your satisfaction, every new Jaguar is covered by a four-year/50,000 mile warranty.*

philosophy live with the wind.

be compared to that of any other luxury
marque on the road. We're so confident
you'll be impressed, we'll let you return

A Jaguar has never been a car for
everyone. Isn't that
a breath of fresh
air? For the name
of your nearest Jaguar dealer or for
more information, call
1-800-4-JAGUAR.



*\$1,000 per customer per vehicle. Visit your participating Jaguar dealer for complete Dream Guarantee details and a copy of our limited warranty.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A 300 acre tropical estate with a championship 18-hole golf course, top notch tennis, three white sand beaches encircled by turquoise waters and shaded with tall palm trees.

It's the world apart you've been waiting to discover.

See Your Travel Professional or Call
(800) 255-3881

Selected as one of the "Top Fifty Island Resorts" worldwide by Condé Nast Traveler.

The Buccaneer St. Croix
United States Virgin Islands

SHOPPING BY MAIL CAN SAVE YOU TIME AND MONEY

Shop The Atlantic Monthly

MARKETPLACE

We are pleased to present a new service to our readers. See page 125 to learn how to receive free information about some of the products and services offered in our pages. Use the convenient reply card, or send your requests to the address listed.

in the late 1970s. Japanese firms now control specific industry choke points in products and processes, to their benefit in the short term.

However, such trade statistics and D-RAM pricing data obscure major structural changes and market responses over the past decade. First, the American semiconductor industry did react, and react strongly, to the Japanese challenge in the 1980s through industry consolidation, which eased some undercapitalization problems and strengthened certain firms. Second, by the end of the decade leading U.S. firms had largely overcome the manufacturing and processing lead once held by Japanese firms. American firms had achieved at least equivalent wafer yield and quality and cost levels. Third, certain major American suppliers, and several smaller and more specialized ones, accelerated the development of types of devices in which U.S. design-technology advantages prevailed. Hence U.S. firms virtually control some of the fastest-growing and highest value-added product categories today.

If an expanded or different role for the government in fostering industrial competitiveness is necessary, then what ought that role to be? We have seen that traditional protectionist approaches are counterproductive and that industry subsidies may not work. (In Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and Europe heavily subsidized attempts to buy industry success have so far worked only in narrow market segments. And direct U.S. government investment in semiconductor technology, such as the Department of Defense's VHSIC—very-high-speed-integrated-circuit—program, which spent in excess of \$900 million over eight years, had little real impact on military electronics capabilities and was bypassed by a much larger body of market-driven research and investment conducted in parallel by U.S. industry.)

The U.S. semiconductor industry would benefit from limited, sharply targeted subsidies (like Sematech) or seed money (like the Technology Reinvestment Project), assistance in exploiting pre-competitive research (the Advanced Technology Program), or assistance in accelerating industry restructuring. Even without politically sensitive subsidies, the government can work more closely with the semiconductor industry in coordinating policies in trade (for example,

opening foreign markets closed by protectionist barriers, or negotiating international limitations on government subsidies to industry), protecting and expanding intellectual-property rights, improving investment and tax legislation to lower the cost of capital, reconsidering the existing antitrust regime, and streamlining technology-export controls and other government regulations. Redirecting resources in existing programs—such as government-funded R&D in national laboratories and universities—to research on new technologies more closely attuned to the needs of U.S. industry would also help enhance U.S. competitiveness in this critical industry. All these measures can be carried out without fundamentally abandoning the Anglo-Saxon model of free enterprise.

Danny Lam
*Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.*

John Kanz
*University of Calgary
Calgary, Alberta*

Kudos to James Fallows for breathing some fresh air into the trade debate.

In Adam Smith's day government impact on economics was minimal. As late as 1910 federal, state, and local expenditures constituted barely 10 percent of GNP, leaving 90 percent for the private sector—that is, the ratio of tax generators to tax dippers was 9 to 1. Today, with government expenditures representing 36 percent of GDP, leaving 64 percent for private output, the ratio has dwindled to about 1.8 to 1. Whereas the public sector was equal to only 11 percent of the private sector in Smith's day, government is now 56 percent as big as the private sector.

Expenditures require taxes, and all taxes ultimately affect the cost of every U.S. consumer product regardless of how or upon whom the tax is initially imposed. Today taxes represent 50 percent of the cost of the average U.S. consumer product. Whereas regulatory costs were virtually nonexistent in Smith's slave-trade, colonial-conquest era, they now account for more than 30 percent of production costs. It is safe to say that government is responsible for at least 80 percent of the cost of U.S. products.

We've constructed a gigantic socialist society almost beyond the dreams of Karl Marx, yet we insist on combining it with

the laissez-faire trade musings of Smith and Ricardo. Not even the Three Stooges would propose such a loony scenario.

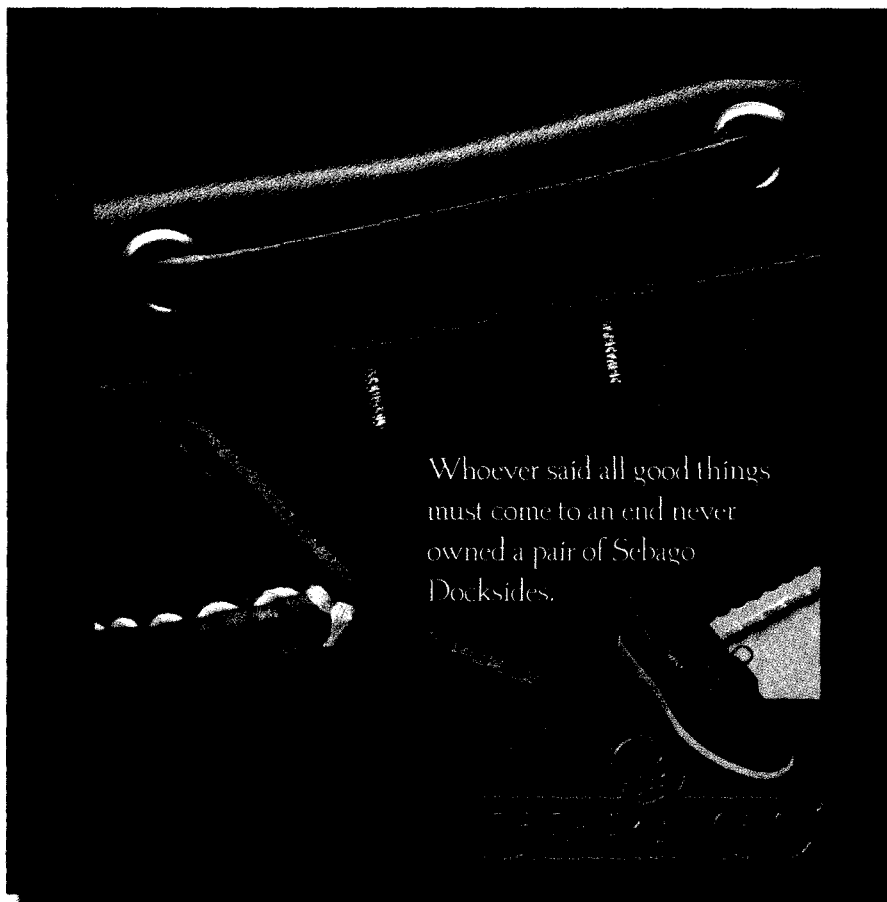
Gus Stelzer
Mill Creek, Wash.

"How the World Works" provides a valuable service by bringing attention to the works of Friedrich List, whose theories have inspired nationalistic economic policies in countries around the world for more than 150 years. List certainly deserves more attention than he has received in the English-speaking world since the First World War.

Fallows, however, overemphasizes List's protectionist side, not mentioning List's belief that free-trade policies were often preferable. List maintained that a government should protect only national manufacturing, and should do so only to catch up to the leading nations in economic development. He did not advocate protectionism for all countries. Some countries lacked the prerequisites for reaching the highest stages of economic development, because of their location—as in the case of tropical countries—or because of insufficient population and resources. List further believed that free trade helped countries below a certain level of economic development to progress, and that these countries should adopt free trade until they outgrew it. Finally, a country that had successfully used protectionist policies to aid industry should not continue such policies once it had caught up with or surpassed other leading nations, because protectionism hurt countries that were economically dominant.

Although List saw protection as a transitory phase to aid manufacturing, many countries influenced by List have ignored

his limitations on protectionism. List may have inspired modern Japanese and Korean industrialization efforts, as well as those in pre-First World War Germany (post-Second World War German economic thought generally supports free trade), but all those countries protected agriculture heavily. If they had followed List's doctrines, Germany by the early 1900s and Japan by the late 1980s should have adopted free-trade policies. List would have considered Japan's protection of its rice farmers or other groups not to be "cheating" but to be a misguided poli-



Whoever said all good things
must come to an end never
owned a pair of Sebago
Dockside.

cy that would eventually erode Japan's strength.

It is also not entirely true that List had a zero-sum view of the world. His problem with laissez-faire theories was that the world was not yet ready for them, although he believed that someday it would be. For List, a believer in the nineteenth-century idea that history has a goal toward which it progresses, nationalism and protectionism were merely a step toward a world in which free trade would be possible.

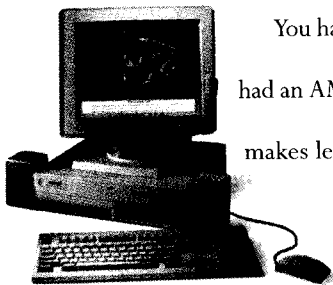
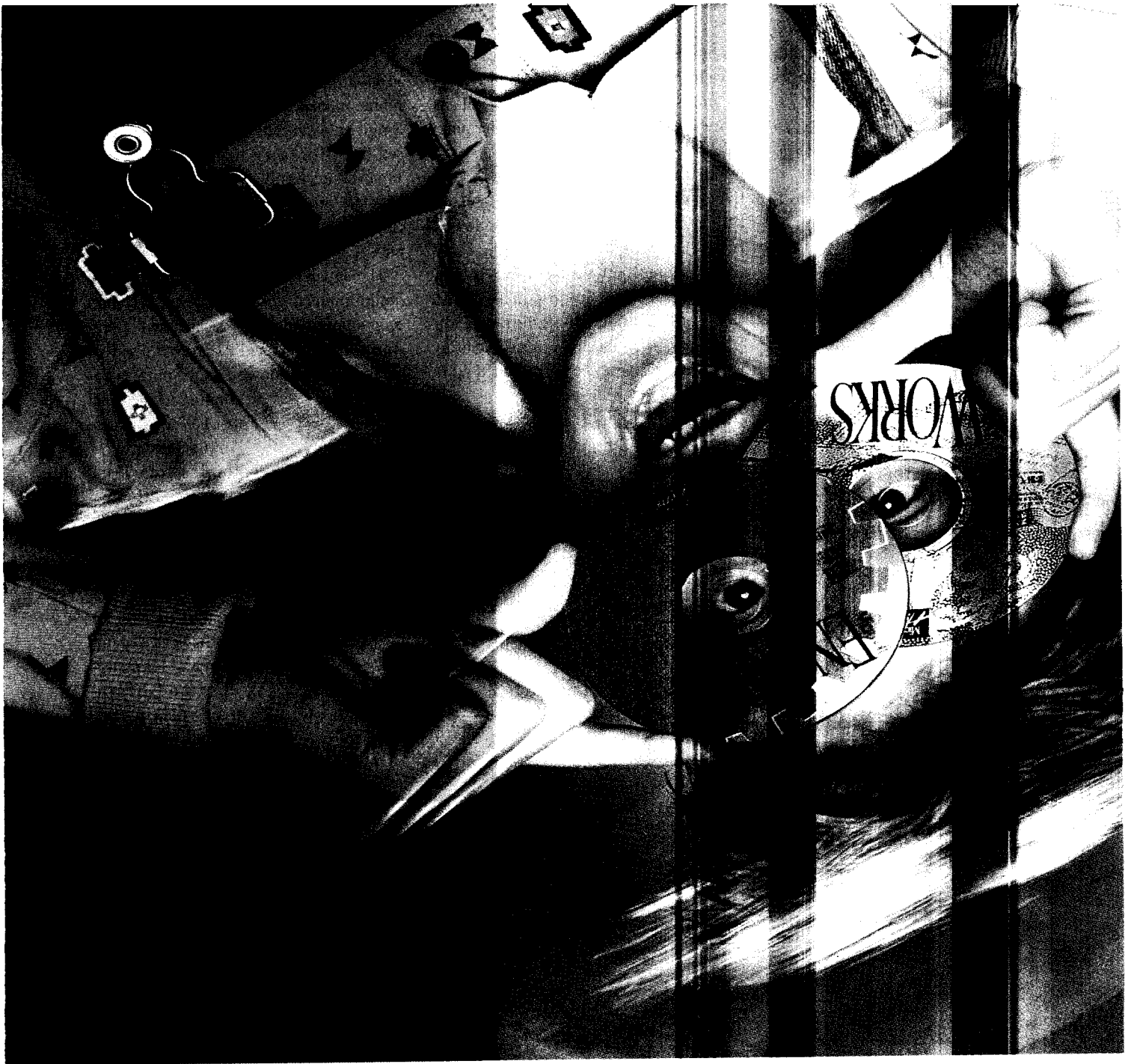
Christine Margerum
Salem, Mass.

James Fallows made a disastrous error in his three-part series on Japanese economic management when he used Adam Smith as a symbol of blind trust in laissez-faire. The fact is that a key reason for Japan's success has been precisely that officials promoting Japan's export sectors have understood the real, more complex Adam Smith.

The Japanese economist Kotaro Tsujimura pointed out fifteen years ago that economics in England "degenerated" from Adam Smith to David Ricardo. It was Ricardo and his followers, not Smith, who committed the sins that Fallows blames Anglo-Saxon economics for. Tsujimura rightly declared in his book *Keizai Seisaku Ron* (*A Treatise on Economic Policy*) that economists should "go back to Adam Smith's starting point and begin again, making up the faults of neo-classical market theory." In essence, that is what Japanese economic managers had already been doing—with somewhat less theoretical precision—since at least the 1960s. That is the essence of the post-1950s Japanese development policy that people like Fallows praise.

The Wealth of Nations is not a tract promoting the "invisible hand" as the automatic maximizer of national wealth. It is a wide-ranging inquiry, and Smith discusses the invisible hand only near the end of the first two volumes. There he talks about a businessman seeking maximum profits in domestic industry. He says that "in this and in many other cases" a businessman is led to pursue not only his own interest but also that of society as a whole "as if by an invisible hand."

Of course, German developmentalist thinkers like Friedrich List rejected the teachings of nineteenth-century British



You had to walk through three feet of snow just to get to school. They get there on Rollerblade skates. You had an AM radio. They have boom boxes. And now there's this thing called edu-tainment. High technology that makes learning involving, fun and exciting. What a concept.

Introducing the Presario Multimedia PCs from Compaq. Powerful computers equipped with CD-ROM drives and bundles of interactive software that bring state-of-the-art sight, sound and motion to computing. Presario Multimedia PCs come equipped with everything you need to get started. So you can



© 1994 Compaq Computer Corporation. All Rights Reserved. Compaq Registered U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. Presario is a trademark of Compaq Computer Corporation. Rollerblade is a registered trademark of Rollerblade Inc. All other trademarks are the property of their respective owners. For details, consult the Compaq Customer Support Center, select the PAQFax option and request PAQFax document #1217. (Compaq Customer Support Center, 1-800-345-1518, U.S.; 1-800-56

JUST BECAUSE YOU
LEARNED THE HARD WAY
DOESN'T MEAN YOUR
KID HAS TO.

be up and running right away. And they're backed by a three-year warranty* along with a 24-hour, seven-day-a-week support hotline to answer any of your computing questions. And with literally thousands and thousands of CD-ROM titles currently available (and a bunch more coming every day), you can do just about anything. From recreating a space shuttle launch to baking your favorite cake with Better Homes and Gardens to leafing through an entire set of encyclopedias stored on one six-inch compact disc complete with audio and video. As a matter of fact, once you have your Presario Multimedia PC at home, here'll probably only be one thing standing between you and a whole new world. Your kid.

COMPAQ

*Homes and Gardens is a trademark of Meredith Corporation. Intel Inside logo is a registered trademark of the Intel corporation. *Certain restrictions and exclusions apply. Monitors, battery packs and certain options are cov-

"Elevette" Practical Luxury.

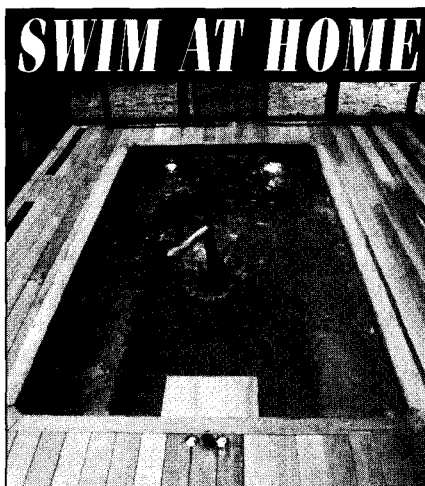


More and more homeowners are discovering the practical luxury of "Elevette," the custom-built residential elevator. It's the perfect solution for those who shouldn't climb stairs. It's the ultimate in convenience. And it's tax-deductible when recommended by a doctor.

For more information on the "Elevette," write:

INCLINATOR
COMPANY OF AMERICA

Dept. 17
P.O. Box 1557
Harrisburg, PA 17105-1557



Swim or exercise against a smooth current that you control. In an Endless Pool™, the water moves and you stay in place.

- An attractive alternative to the traditional lap pool.
- Requires only an 8' x 15' space.
- Chlorine FREE.
- Simple to maintain, economical to run.
- Easy installation in an existing room or outdoors on a deck or patio.



200 EAST DUTTON'S MILL ROAD • ASTON, PA 19014

CALL: (800)732-8660

economists (but not really of Smith, who had been dead for forty-seven years when List wrote). Fallows is right to emphasize that the German developmentalists profoundly affected Japanese economic thinking. But when the approach was the principal influence on Japanese economic policy—up to the start of the 1960s—Japan merely achieved an economic position equivalent to that of semideveloped countries like Peru and Bolivia.

Starting in the 1960s, as Western economic management was growing sloppier, Japanese economic management became much more rigorous. Fallows seems completely unaware of these developments. But economic thinkers such as Ryutaro Komiya and Ryuichiro Tachi unabashedly promoted the "competitive price mechanism." In their 1964 book, *Keizai Seisaku no Riron (Economic Policy Theory)*, Komiya and Tachi carefully acknowledged the useful work that government can do in the economy but emphasized that government's "direct, self-indulgent interference simply must be expelled and competition freed to give the price mechanism vitality as the basis of the modern 'mixed economy.'"

Fallows grossly misrepresents not only Japan but also the challenge of economic development everywhere by implying that there is somehow a contradiction between the promotion of economic development and efforts to achieve the Anglo-Saxon economic ideal of "getting prices right." Since Komiya and Tachi began their work, the most successful Asian countries have certainly done a far better job of getting prices right in the sectors they have promoted than English-speaking countries have done anywhere.

Japanese-style economics outdoes American-style economics most effectively in allowing space for small businesses. Fallows quotes Andrew Grove's statement that there are far more suppliers available to support semiconductor manufacturing facilities in Japan than in the United States. He's right, of course. But Fallows implies that this is some kind of developmentalist conspiracy.

That is wrong. The real reason is probably the same as the reason why Japan has more auto-industry suppliers, more steel-industry suppliers, and more food-service-industry suppliers than we do. Government in the United States—mostly state and local governments—simply

makes it much more difficult to start businesses in the United States than it is in Japan.

To observe how difficult it is to start a business manufacturing anything in the United States, simply call your local town hall and ask what is required to open up a business in your garage or kitchen. It's far easier in Japan: the share of Japan's population that is self-employed is three times as large as the share of the U.S. population. Nearly 60 percent of Japanese manufacturing workers are employed in establishments with fewer than a hundred workers, as compared with barely 25 percent in the United States. The people helping Andy Grove's competitors are among them.

Robert Chapman Wood
Rockland, Mass.

As James Fallows knows, an appeal to "the national interest" runs counter to the long-term impact of "Anglo-American" capitalist ideology. In the United States, perhaps more than anywhere else, popular loyalty to the nation and to the economic system was bought with a high standard of living. Taxation and other policies that encouraged the establishment of U.S. corporate manufacturing facilities in other countries were sold to the American people as "in the national interest," along with the diplomatic and military policies that sustained the dictatorships whose repressive anti-labor practices often made the sites attractive to business in the first place. It remains to be seen to what degree we are capable of rallying support for "the national interest" among a people so ill-educated for so long and so disillusioned so recently.

Which leads to a final suspicion: that the system that, as Robert Heilbroner says, has "desacralized" virtually everything within reach, including the earth itself, is simply beginning to put the finishing touches on nationality, too; and that in the not-so-distant future U.S. citizenship will mean little more than citizenship in California means today.

James A. Young
Harrisburg, Pa.

"How the World Works" is first-rate as a rejoinder to those still wedded to the bipolar view that sees "free markets" and grim Soviet-style planning as the only possible economic-policy options. It is a

timely reminder to today's disciples of laissez-faire economics that an ahistorical and noncomparative faith in "enlightened self-interest" renders one impervious to alternative and even potentially superior explanatory theories of the development process.

Adam Smith, the much-celebrated founder of modern economics, is, as Robert Heilbroner has aptly put it, "the most quoted but least read" of the worldly philosophers. Jerry Evensky rightly observes that the fabled "invisible hand" metaphor appears a grand total of three times in all of Smith's writings, and was itself infused with the idea that a civil society should foster the development of ethical people rather than strictly utilitarian producers and consumers. Smith's most revised—indeed, his final—work was *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, in which he made it very clear that intervention by the state was necessary to curb the inequities of market exchange. Jerry Muller's excellent book *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours* is a compelling call to consider the full message of Smith rather than falling in with the current practice of selecting concepts out of context either to endorse one's preconceived economic doctrines or to refute the apparent folly of others.

Although many of today's economics graduate students (and professors) are shamelessly oblivious of alternative theoretical perspectives on the economy, a related but greater concern is their ignorance of the history of their own neo-classical paradigm. Unless they've done additional reading, most economics graduate students today will earn a Ph.D. knowing little about the classical economists, let alone what arguments they espoused or what revolutions brought about the rise and fall of neoclassical thought.

Michael J. V. Woolcock
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

James Fallows makes some good points. Particularly insightful is his argument that although tariffs raise prices in the short run, they may lower them in the long run by encouraging the creation of new domestic industries. Fallows overstates modern opposition to this idea. Economists have long agreed that the protection of infant industries is a legitimate goal of international trade regulation, just as they have

recognized the need to provide temporary monopolies to creators of intellectual property for essentially the same reasons. The real debate in both contexts centers on the amount of time necessary to bring about the desired result.

How long does it take to establish a new industry? Fallows recounts Eli Whitney's single-handed creation of the American munitions industry in less than a decade. While such dispatch may often be too much to hope for, surely no one any longer believes, as List did, that "the growth of industries is a process that may take hundreds of years to complete." A few decades, perhaps. Beyond that point it is proper to ask whether an industry's need for continued protection is due not to its infancy but to its decrepitude. It is difficult to believe, for example, that the Big Three have not yet figured out how to make a decent car, or that the passage of millennia has not enabled the Japanese to master the art of growing rice.

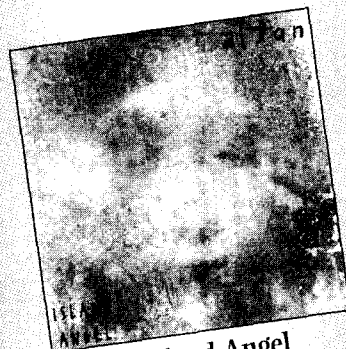
Jacques LeBoeuf
Oakland, Calif.

While I agree with James Fallows ("Looking at the Sun") that a more active governmental role may enhance our industrial performance, I don't agree that "ethnicity and race are no longer part of any respectable discussion of business." Few will argue with him about race. But by including ethnicity—which equates with culture, values, and attitudes—in that assertion, Fallows turns his back on, among others, Max Weber, Gunnar Myrdal, and James Fallows (see his November, 1987, *Atlantic* article on the Philippines, "A Damaged Culture").

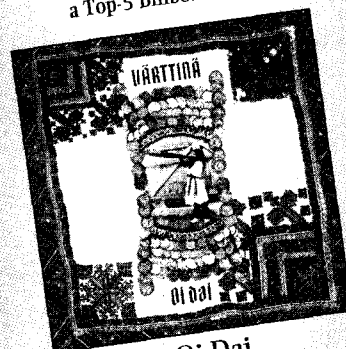
How can one dismiss the respectability of cultural interpretations in the light of the performance of Japanese immigrants in the United States, where their achievements in education, the professions, and business place them at the top of American ethnic groups, along with the Jews; in Brazil, where their achievements have been comparably impressive; and in Peru, where the President is of Japanese extraction, his election in part reflecting the respect Peruvians hold for the achievements of Japanese immigrants?

Along with working toward a more active role for government in industrial policy, we should be working to reverse our tendency in recent decades to focus more on the present than on the future, to view

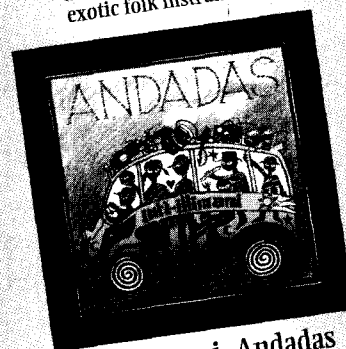
MUSIC FOR A CHANGING WORLD



Altan - Island Angel
A beautiful album by Ireland's best traditional band. Currently a Top-5 Billboard World Album.



Värttinä - Oi Dai
Powerful Finnish female harmonies accompanied by traditional and exotic folk instruments.



Inti-Ilimani - Andadas
From Chile... Andean melodies, world rhythms and thrilling multi-voiced choruses.



Green Linnet Records
43 Beaver Brook Road
Danbury, CT 06810

Call 1-800-468-6644

For Free Catalog of Celtic, World and Folk Music

**xeno
phile**



“Diviner than the dolphin is nothing yet created.”

—OPPIAN, *Halieutica*

The ancient Greeks respected the dolphins for their kindness and intelligence. In fact, it was a crime punishable by death to harm or kill a dolphin. Today, though, over 100,000 dolphins are being needlessly killed every year, caught by tuna fishermen and driftnets.

Together we saved over 50,000 dolphins last year. But hundreds of thousands are still endangered. You can make the difference. Please join us.

Write us for further information and for a list of dolphin-safe tuna brands.



300 Broadway, San Francisco, CA 94133

work more as a means of acquiring things than as a source of creativity and satisfaction, to lower the prestige of industry, and business in general, to give insufficient emphasis to the central roles of education and merit in progressive societies, and to live with increasing divisiveness in our national community. These are the opposite of the Confucian values that have contributed to outstanding economic performance throughout East Asia. They are also essentially the opposite of the values of the Protestant (and Jewish) ethic that contributed so much to our earlier success.

Lawrence E. Harrison
Ottawa, Ont.

James Fallows replies:

I agree with Zoltan Cendes that many American laws and regulations hinder U.S. business. I completely disagree that Japanese business is freer and less regulated than America's. A webbing of regulation and guidance, formal and informal, reaches over nearly all Japanese businesses. The difference is the purpose of the regulation: as Mr. Cendes points out, Japanese-style regulation is basically pro-business, pro-investment, and pro-export.

The letters from Danny Lam and John Kanz and Jacques LeBoeuf raise the most important question about “industrial policy”: the circumstances in which state intervention is most or least likely to succeed. I explore answers to this question in my forthcoming book, *Looking at the Sun*.

Gus Stelzer's letter illustrates the point I was trying to make in my articles. The reality of modern America, as Mr. Stelzer says, is a vast interaction of public and private influences. Private businesses make the economy go, but the government's taxes, regulations, subsidies, contracts, research grants, trade policies, and countless other measures affect what every business does. Despite this interaction, a pristine view of the economy survives, one in which we face a stark choice between “state control” and “free enterprise” and are ever in peril of starting down the slippery slope toward “protectionism” or “trade war.” My articles emphasized that the skillful combination of public and private strategies contributed to Japan's growth—as the combination had earlier contributed to America's.

I welcome Christine Margerum's clarifications about Friedrich List's views. The letters from Robert Chapman Wood

and Michael J. V. Woolcock suggest that I could have done more to clarify my own views of Adam Smith. I am well aware that Smith never espoused the pure laissez-faire thinking for which his name has now become a shorthand. I mentioned his support for national-defense subsidies and Britain's extremely protectionist Navigation Act, and I give many more illustrations in my book. What I meant to criticize in these articles was not Smith's thought itself but the arguments made in his name—for example, by the supply-siders who wore Adam Smith neckties in the 1980s. Like Karl Marx and Jesus Christ, Smith has been used as an authority for positions he would never have embraced. The Japan that Mr. Wood describes—in which companies are less closely regulated than those in America, and therefore can start up more easily, with lower hiring costs—differs greatly from the one I have lived in and observed. For years Japanese economists have answered foreign complaints about “closed markets” by saying that Japanese business isn't really biased against foreigners. Rather, they say, it is biased against newcomers of any kind, domestic or foreign, more so than business systems in other countries. Mr. Wood clearly disagrees. To me, his position illustrates the power of Western belief to make facts fit its preconceptions.

Finally, I agree with Lawrence Harrison that culture plays an important part in economic development. That is why I used the words “ethnicity and race,” rather than “culture,” in my article. In Japan and Korea the distinctions among these terms are often blurred. Japanese people are accustomed to thinking of themselves as being simultaneously one race, one nation, one language group, and one culture. (During the Japanese boom of the late 1980s many Brazilians of Japanese heritage went to Japan to look for jobs. Japanese people often seemed surprised that these immigrants did not understand Japanese. Rationally they understood that the newcomers were genuine Latin Americans, whose first language was Portuguese. Subconsciously they were accustomed to thinking that anyone who looked Japanese must “think Japanese” and speak Japanese too.) Americans should be able to keep these concepts separate—as Mr. Harrison himself has in his books about the relation between culture and economic progress.

(Wick Simmons, CEO Prudential Securities)

1

It's my job to set the tone for this company.

2

That starts with laying it on the line inside the company and out. We call that straight talk.

3

Straight talk means our investors hear the upside and downside of every opportunity.

4

It also means facing up to hard issues--admitting mistakes and fixing them.

5

Straight talk means if we fall short, we'll hear about it. That's good. It makes us do better.

6

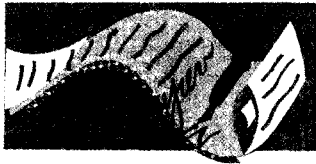
Straight talk is more than words at the end of an ad. It's something we have to live by.

Prudential Securities 

Prudential Securities today. It starts with straight talk.™

To speak to a broker call 800-654-5454.

THE APRIL ALMANAC



Government

April 1, the National Endowment for the Humanities begins accepting applications from communities seeking financial assistance to conduct New England-style town meetings focused on the bonds within American society. The project is aimed at rectifying what the NEH's chairman, Sheldon Hackney, has called "the new tribalism" in America; it will likely culminate in several nationally televised town meetings next winter. 15, President Clinton signs the international agreement containing new terms for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—the pact known as GATT, which governs most world trade. According to the "fast track" procedures for congressional action on GATT, the President will then have an unspecified amount of time to consult and bargain with Capitol Hill regarding the form of a bill to implement the treaty. Once this bill is submitted, Congress cannot amend it; within 90 legislative days it must vote on the pact and its implementation as written.

Environment

April 1, the era of Antarctic dog-sled exploration officially ends today, because all huskies are to have been removed from the continent in accordance with a comprehensive Protocol on Environmental Protection, an addition to the 1959 international Antarctic Treaty. The ban stems from fears that canine viruses, especially

distemper, could be transmitted to Antarctic seals. Some scientists, among them those representing Britain's mission—the only one that had dogs to the last—maintained that it was unnecessary, because the huskies were kept away from seals, but others successfully argued that even a slight risk of transmission was unacceptable. Huskies have, of course, been part of Antarctic exploration and lore at least since Roald Amundsen's successful expedition to the South Pole, in 1911. Since the 1970s, when motorized sleds came into use, the dogs, which possess an acute instinct for danger spots, have been used primarily in training missions intended to help scientists gain a better feel for the continent's terrain. But perhaps their most salutary role was as a source of companionship—no small issue for the year-round British community, which consisted of 15 people and 14 dogs.



Food

This month the Food and Drug Administration is expected to begin releasing final regulations governing the labeling of bottled water. First it is slated to stipulate stricter maximum levels for some contaminants and to establish levels for others. Regulations in coming months will for the first time require that the source of the water be identified according to tight definitions for purified, mineral, spring, artesian, distilled, and well water. The new rules are meant to end misleading marketing practices—calling virtually any kind of water "mineral" water, for example—and will supersede the multiplicity of state regulations that have arisen over the years.



Health & Safety

April typically heralds the onslaught of airborne allergy-aggravating pollen in most temperate regions of the country. Those afflicted may be in for a vexing season this year: last summer's flooding in the Mississippi River valley and this winter's heavy snowfalls in the North and Midwest suggest that barring an unusually dry spring, moisture levels in much of the country may be abnormally high, a condition that facilitates tree and grass growth and pollination. Mold spores, another common cause of allergic reactions, are also expected to be unusually abundant in the Midwest this year, owing to the large number of plants that rotted and succumbed to fungi in the wake of the floods. On another allergy-related front, three recent studies have found a possible link between susceptibility to pollen allergies and month of birth. Those born in months when a given pollen is abundant have shown a greater incidence of allergies to that pollen than others.

Arts & Letters

Visitors to Rome this month will be able to see the completed restoration of the Sistine Chapel: the scaffolding obscuring *Last Judgment*, the final work undertaken in 14 years of restoration, is due to be dismantled. In addition to removing varnish, smoke, and other matter deposited over the centuries on Michelangelo's painting, restorers had to deal



with the matter of the *braghe*—loincloths—added to some of the nude figures after its completion. For historical reasons those painted on in 1565, in deference to the Council of Trent, were allowed to remain, but all those added later (generally clumsily) have been removed. A new air-conditioning and air-filtering system will help protect the chapel's refurbished art from the damaging effects of the 220 pounds of perspiration emitted each day by the crowds who come to see it.



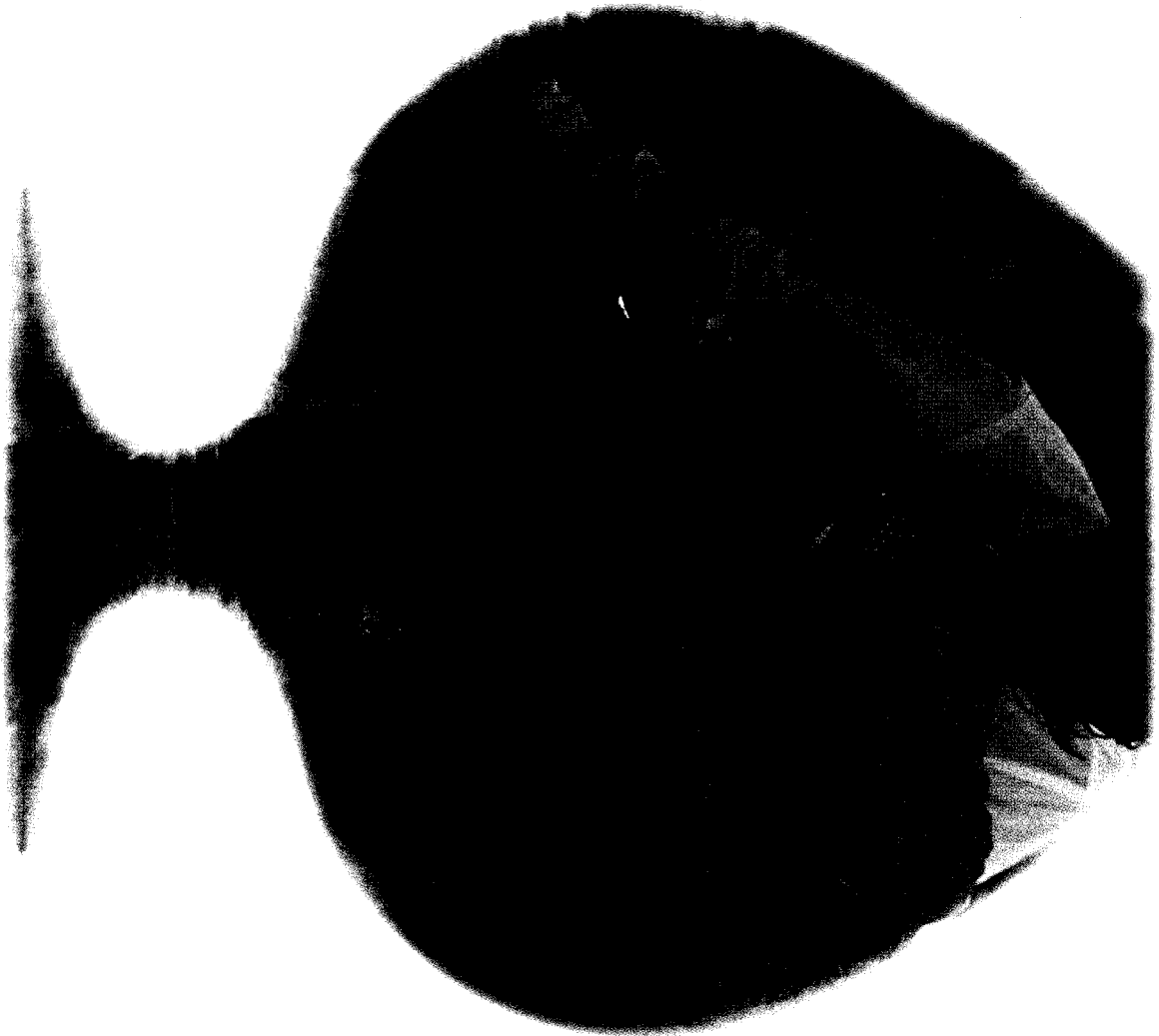
The Skies

April 3, at 2:00 A.M., Daylight Saving Time begins; set clocks one hour ahead. 12, Venus passes very close to the waxing crescent Moon early this evening. 25, Full Moon, also known as the Fish, Planting, and Deep Water Moon. Because today is also perigee—the closest the Moon will come to Earth all year—extreme high and low tides are expected.

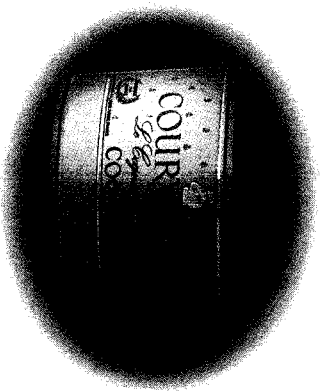
75 Years Ago

James Harvey Robinson, writing in the April, 1919, issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*: "There is general agreement, except perhaps on the part of a few wayward ascetics, not only that health is a blessing, but that to the want of it may safely be ascribed no inconsiderable part of our present ethical and social problems. Crime, poverty, and the wretchedness of personal dependence have a close relation to bad bodily states. Most of our daily irritations and wrangles spring from physical depression. And from the same cause come boredom and hysteria. So in a thoroughly revised system of ethics might not the obligation of physical well-being constitute Chapter I?"

W H A T M A K E S A M O M E N T

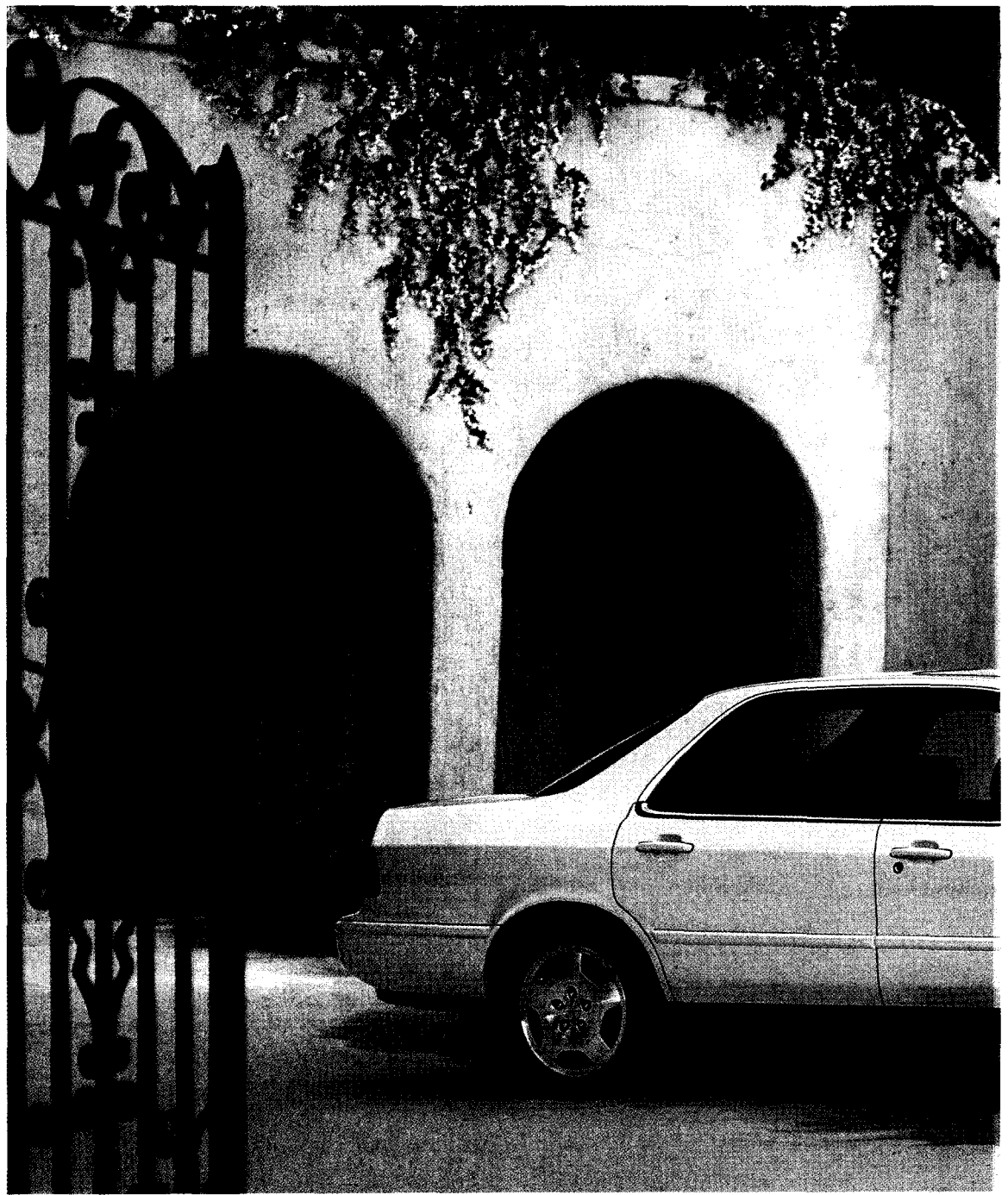


A M E M O R Y



To send a gift of Courvoisier, where legal, call 1-800-238-4373.

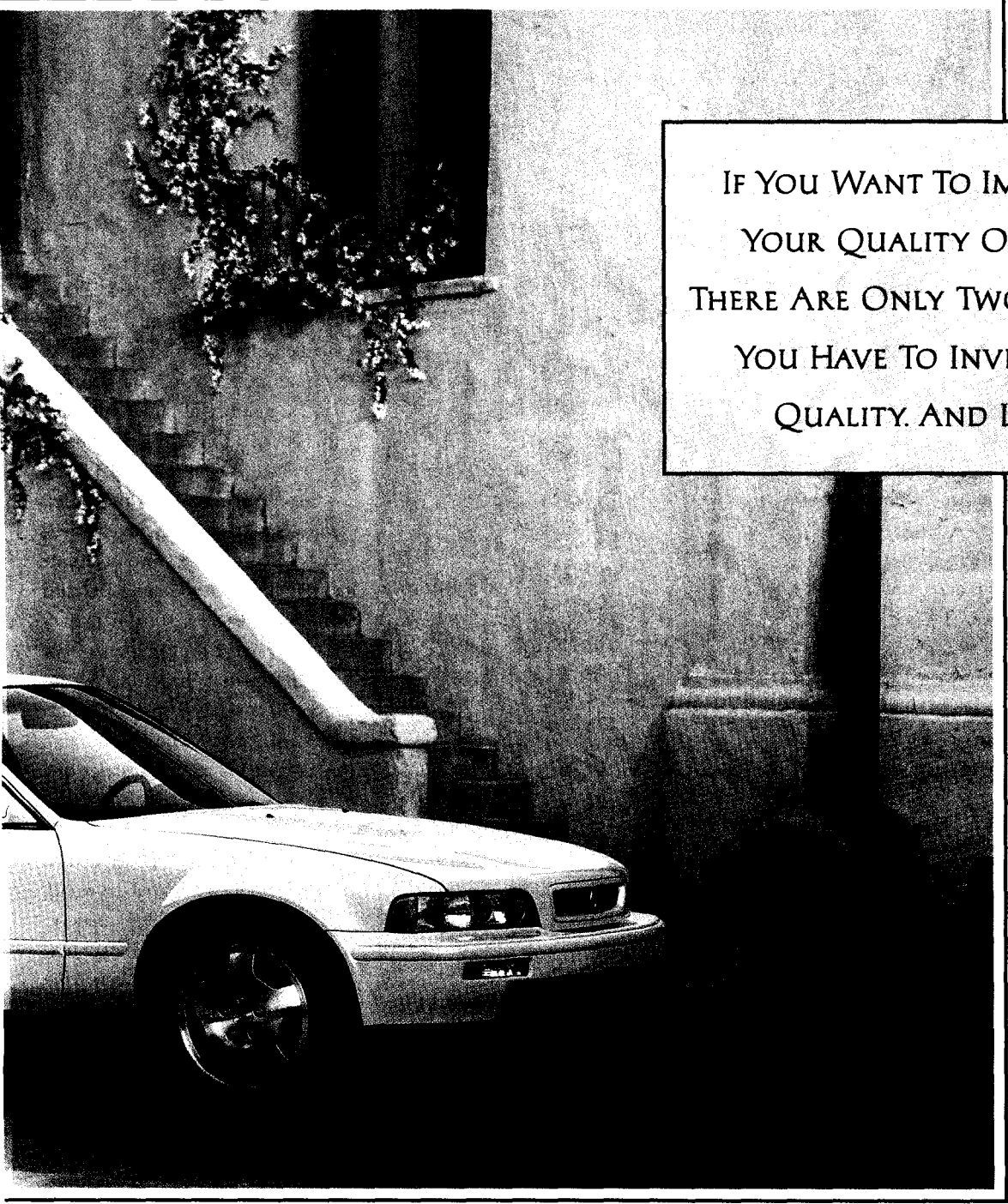
©1993 Acura Division of American Honda Motor Co., Inc. Acura and Legend are registered trademarks of Honda Motor Co., Ltd. Make an intelligent decision. Buckle up. Call 1-800-TO-ACURA for the dealer nearest you.



*Q*UALITY IS WORTH paying extra for.

Quality maintains its value, lasts longer and is more satisfying to own. The Acura Legend is a perfect example.

Everything about it makes driving more enjoyable. The ergonomic design of its interior includes a tilt and telescoping steering column and an eight-way adjustable



IF YOU WANT TO IMPROVE
YOUR QUALITY OF LIFE,
THERE ARE ONLY TWO THINGS
YOU HAVE TO INVEST IN.
QUALITY. AND LIFE.

driver's seat that automatically remember the position
you find most comfortable. While the finish of its exterior
is specially treated to remain lustrous for years.

The Acura Legend. Now that we think about it, maybe
there's only one thing you have to invest in.

SOME THINGS ARE WORTH THE PRICE.



ACURA

On One Condition

When the past makes the present jump through hoops

MY wife and I not long ago decided to remake our wills, the result being that documents that were about as complex as Richard Nixon's letter of resignation were replaced by something more closely resembling the North American Free Trade Agreement. After explaining the legal legerdemain, our lawyer invited questions and comments. "Is now the time," I asked, "when we should tell you about the eccentric provisions we want to add?" Like everyone else, I have wondered on more than one occasion how I might toy good-naturedly with my heirs and assigns—making a bequest conditional upon their scaling the west face of K2, say, or translating the collected speeches of Winston Churchill into Farsi. Our lawyer, a courtly man, reacted to my question by inclining his head almost imperceptibly, as if to indicate that in the course of a long career he had seen everything, that he was prepared to listen in a spirit of deliberative neutrality, and that he would be attentive to our every whim. His only comment, as I recall, went something like this: "Extraordinary stipulations have been known to give testators a certain feeling of, uh, satisfaction."

They most definitely have. Wills are a form of document that has survived in disproportionate numbers through the ages, and in every era one finds stipulations that veer away from the straightforward and commonsensical. Often the stipulations have a quixotic charm. A woman named Hariette Stormes some time ago left \$350,000 to endow a scholarship at the University of California at Berkeley—one open only to Jewish orphans majoring in the aeronautical sciences. (Perhaps not surprisingly the fund went unused for years; the terms of the bequest were recently broadened.)



by Cullen Murphy

A Canadian lawyer named Charles Millar, who died in the 1920s, earmarked much of his estate for the woman in Toronto who bore the largest number of children during the decade following his death. (The legacy—more than \$500,000—was split among four women who seem to have set out energetically to earn it, and who bore nine children apiece.) George Bernard Shaw put aside a sum of money to promote a new, forty-letter phonetic English alphabet that would more accurately capture the nuances of pronunciation; he also asked that his play *Androcles and the Lion* be transcribed into the new alphabet in King George V's accent, and that the transcription be placed in libraries around the world. (A transcription was duly made.)

Frequently, of course, the intention of a will is not to influence the course of affairs in a more or less

benign, if capricious, way but rather to exact vengeance, to exhibit scorn, or to position the legatee at that painful place where covetousness and high principle collide. The poet Heinrich Heine left his estate to his wife on condition that she remarry, explaining in his will that as a consequence "there will be at least one man to regret my death." When the Kentucky horse breeder Leslie Combs died, four years ago, he left most of his considerable estate to Lexington's Ephraim McDowell Cancer Research Foundation, but only on condition that the foundation remove its executive director, whom for unexplained reasons he had come to detest. (The foundation paid the director to leave, and got the money.)

In its most ambitious form the conditional bequest leverages great wealth in an attack on time itself, attempting to ensure that at least some small thing in the universe will never change.



BERMUDA SHORTS

ON A FARAWAY LAND CLOSE TO HOME.

OUR HAIRSTYLES
HAVEN'T CHANGED IN
350 YEARS.

In bustling downtown
Hamilton, you'll see
evidence that
Bermuda is indeed a
civilized paradise.

'ROUND EVERY
CORNER, A BIT OF
ROYAL HERITAGE.

Post a postcard home
from one of our
highly dignified
postboxes. They're as
charming as the
country lanes we put
them by.

OUR LITTLE
ISLAND IS ACTUALLY

MANY ISLANDS.

Some as small
and charming as

Call your
travel agent or:
1-800-
BERMUDA.



BERMUDA. A SHORT TRIP TO THE PERFECT HOLIDAY.



The Atlantic Monthly

ONLINE



The Atlantic Monthly launched an electronic version of itself on the America Online computer network in November. The Atlantic Monthly Online includes a selection of articles taken directly from the magazine, and also a variety of offerings available only online: features about the magazine's history; profiles of current contributors; a message board for discussing topics raised in *Atlantic* articles; live electronic conferences with *Atlantic* editors and experts from various disciplines. Participation in America Online requires a computer, a mouse, and a modem. To request communications software and a password, call America Online, at 1-800-827-6364, extension 7982. New users are entitled to ten hours of free exploration.

RECENTLY ON THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY ONLINE:

- ◆ In March live conferences with Robert D. Kaplan, the author of *The Atlantic's* February cover story, "The Coming Anarchy," and Corby Kummer, an *Atlantic* senior editor.
- ◆ A new ongoing feature: nineteenth-century *Atlantic* reviews of books that went on to become national classics.

Isabella Stewart Gardner gave her Boston mansion and her vast art collection to the public, but decreed that if any of the art or furnishings were moved from their locations the entire bequest was to be auctioned off in Paris, the proceeds going to Harvard University. (The terms have essentially been honored; a major recent theft is deemed not to count.) Albert C. Barnes, the pharmaceutical magnate and collector of Impressionist and post-Impressionist painting, likewise took steps to keep his collection static and intact, steps that the foundation that now oversees the Barnes Foundation Gallery, in Merion, Pennsylvania, has spent several years in court attempting to undo (with some success). The publisher Walter Annenberg has decided to leave his collection of Impressionists and post-Impressionists to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York, but again only on condition that the collection hang together as a group forever. To incorporate the bequest the museum must take apart and rearrange its existing collection.

Whether eccentric, malicious, or tantamount to bribery, conditional bequests have a tendency to make their way into the news, and whenever they do, I find myself seized, fleetingly, with a feeling of ambivalence, at once resentful and impressed that the departed enjoy such lingering influence. My feelings are of course bound up with a larger question: How much power should the past be permitted to exercise over the present? This is an old and vexing issue, one that philosophers have wrestled with for millennia, and I suspect that most people find themselves having variable reactions to it, depending on the circumstances at hand. Both poles of the argument have had their champions.

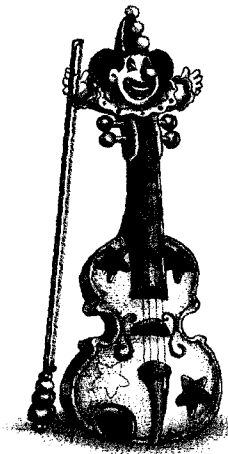
Thomas Jefferson was something of a fanatic on the "power to the present" side. At a relatively young age Jefferson had inherited the debts of a relative, and this indebtedness, which plagued him all his life, seems to have helped condition his thinking about political continuity, about the relationship and obligations of one generation to the next. Writing to James Madison from Paris in 1789, with the French Revolution raging around him, Jefferson brought up the question of "whether one generation of men has a right to bind another." He went on to an-

swer in the negative, stating that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living" and arguing that the living must be free of encumbrances from the past, whether financial or legislative. In the application of this principle Jefferson was unabashedly literal-minded. Drawing on the work of the French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, Jefferson defined the period of a human generation as nineteen years, and he proposed that all laws and constitutions should therefore automatically expire nineteen years after enactment. "Turn this subject in your mind," Jefferson wrote to Madison, "and particularly as to the power of contracting debts." In reply Madison, who had spent the summer of 1787 drafting a U.S. constitution that he hoped would endure, gently suggested to Jefferson that his scheme was impractical.

Jefferson would not have received so mild a reply from Edmund Burke. Burke, who was writing *Reflections on the Revolution in France* at the same time that Jefferson was writing his letter to Madison, was something of a fanatic on the "power to the past" side of the argument. He was no friend of revolutionary ardor, no proponent of popular majorities' pulling down ancient institutions so that a polity might be fashioned anew. Obligations toward the future? Of course we have such obligations, Burke would say, but we have greater obligations to what has come before us: to the inheritance of law, custom, language, and religion which must underlie any stable government or society. He observed admiringly of England, "We have an inheritable crown; an inheritable peerage; and an house of commons and a people inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties, from a long line of ancestors." He went on, "A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors."

One wants, somehow, to embrace both Burke and Jefferson at once, and as a practical matter I suppose we do, in a haphazard and messy way. Is there any other choice? "If we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future." The words are from a speech by Winston Churchill. When my heirs and assigns get there, the translation will be about half-way done. ☼

Heard on a conventional radio, a priceless Stradivarius might as well be a child's toy.



Two hundred years before radio, Antonio Stradivari was a crafter of violins.

To this day, his violins are unsurpassed in workmanship, tonal excellence, and beauty.

A Stradivarius sounds like no other violin. Unless you happen to be listening on a conventional radio. Conventional radios are limited in their ability to reproduce lifelike sound because of their small size. They can make a Stradivarius sound thin, metallic – almost like a toy.

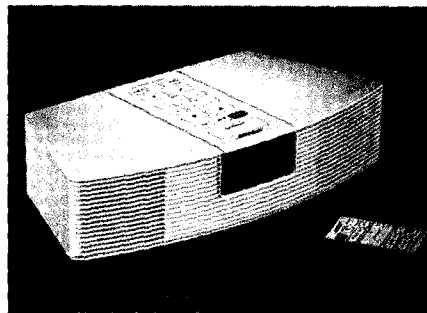
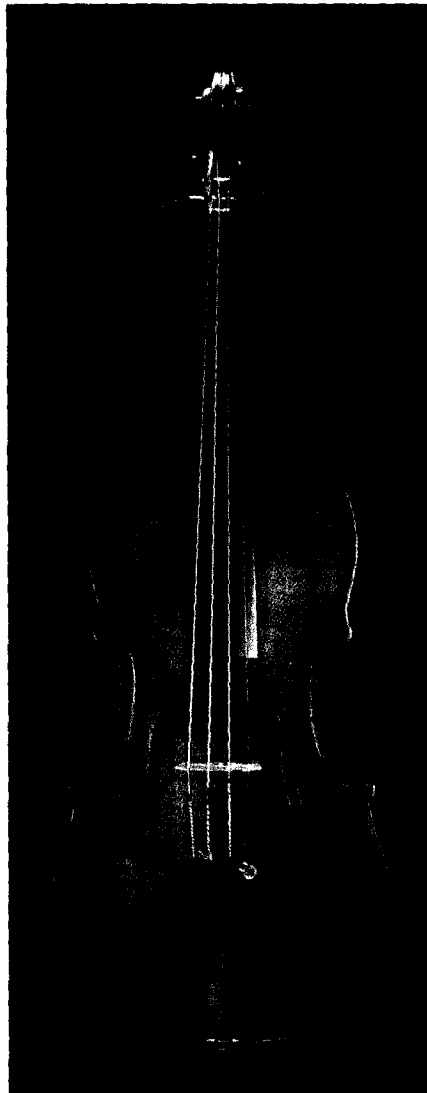
Antonio wouldn't be pleased.

Introducing the Wave® radio

Now Bose® – the most respected name in audio – introduces a new concept and a new technology for radio.

The Wave® radio combines an acoustic waveguide with a radio receiver to produce sound that ordinary radios just can't match. The primary benefit is apparent – better sound.

We believe the acoustic waveguide speaker to be one of the most significant advancements in the history of radio. So significant, in fact, it earned the team of Dr. Amar Bose and Dr. William Short the prestigious national "Inventor of the Year" award.



The Bose Wave® radio comes with credit card size remote control, dual alarms, adjustable dial brightness – and sound Popular Science magazine calls "startling." Connects easily to your CD player, TV, or VCR.

Hearing is believing

Listen to the Wave® radio. You'll hear sound quality far beyond anything you've ever experienced from a conventional radio. And you'll understand why at least one belongs in your home.

Only available directly from Bose.

A lifetime of music enjoyment for only \$349

Try the Wave® radio for 14 days. If you love it, keep it. If not, return it for a full refund. Period.

Order today

1-800-845-BOSE Ext. 854
(1-800-845-2673)

Order by phone. For more information call or send this coupon.

Name (Please Print) _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Phone () _____

Send to: Bose Corporation, The Mountain,
Dept. CDD, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

© 1993 Bose Corporation. Covered by patent rights issued and/or pending. JN 94411

BOSE®
Better sound through research®



Wild About Convention Centers

Hundreds of cities expect that their new convention centers will bring economic benefits and urban regeneration. Most cities will be left with underused facilities and decades of debt

THE towers of Kansas City's new convention center rise like the masts of a world-class suspension bridge, spanning Interstate 70. When it is completed, this fall, the massive exhibition hall will join a number of other new facilities around the country which are vying for major conventions.

by Lawrence Tabak

These multimillion-dollar convention centers are built in the expectation that hordes of free-spending conventioners will bolster local economies and revitalize downtowns. Kansas City officials, like their counterparts around the country, are confident that their dazzling center will pay for itself and then some.

With so much pressure on city budgets, how have cities found the funds to build these megastructures? Is the meeting and convention business so active that more than 300 cities can fill and pay for their municipally funded convention centers? The answers that come from Kansas City are the same ones that echo, however hollowly, across the country.

A slump in convention business in Kansas City in the mid-1980s was especially painful for city officials. Kansas City had been a convention overachiever, surpassing cities two or three times its size. The loss of business was not particularly mysterious: the number of cities owning and marketing convention facilities tripled from about 100 in 1977 to more than 300 in 1987. Competing cities had newer centers, and many had more attractive downtowns, better climates, and—a critical factor for meeting planners—more hotel rooms near their centers.

The loss of downtown hotels is symptomatic of the declining fortunes of Kansas City's urban center. In the early



MOST TEACHERS EXPECT THEIR STUDENTS TO COMPLETE THEIR HOMEWORK. MRS. AMEISS EXPECTS THEM TO SURVIVE A PLANE CRASH.

Barbara Ameiss' seventh graders have an unusual assignment. They pretend their plane has just crash-landed in a remote area.

All the students have is a small survival kit. So they must devise a plan. They elect a leader. Then they create laws for their group. In effect, they establish a government for a miniature society.

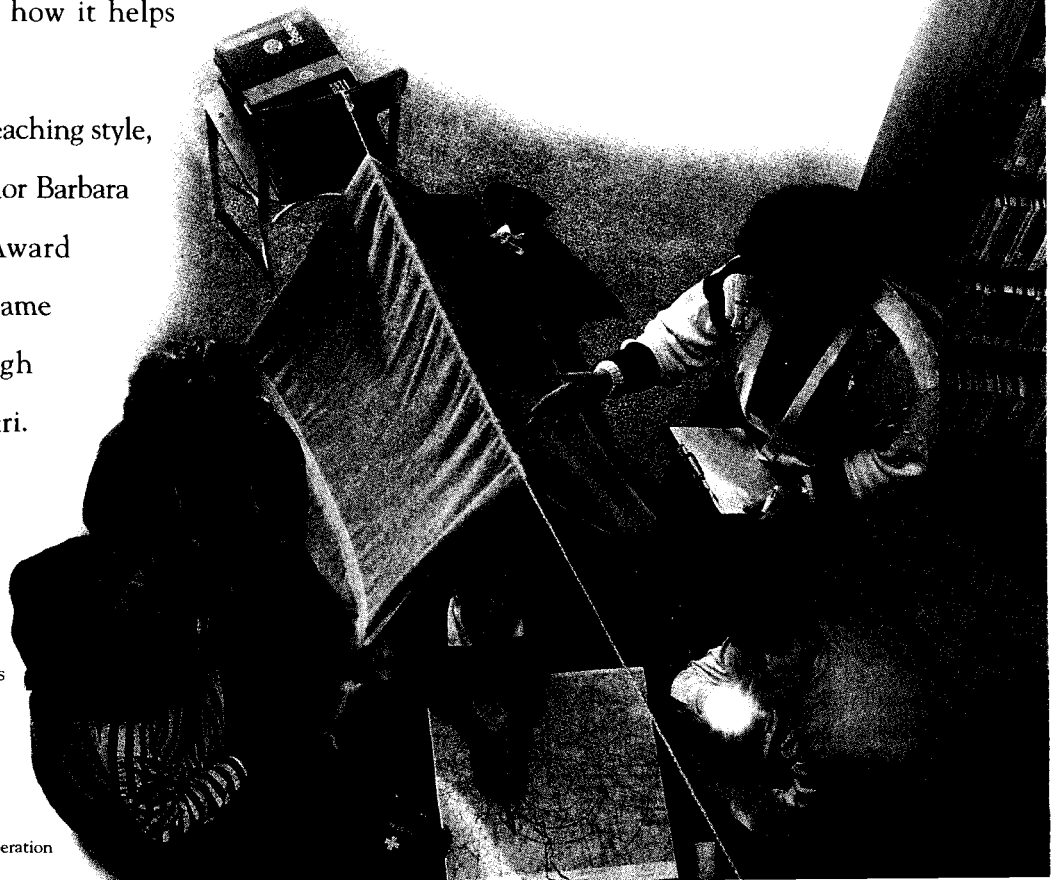
Through lengthy discussions the kids quickly recognize government provides their society with basic needs to survive. It also demonstrates why larger societies need governments too. More importantly, the exercise teaches her kids how cooperation can help them overcome a tough situation. Not to mention how it helps them earn a better grade.

For her innovative teaching style, State Farm is pleased to honor Barbara with a Good Neighbor Award and donate \$5000 in her name to Hazelwood Junior High School of Florissant, Missouri.



GOOD
NEIGHBOR
AWARD

STATE FARM INSURANCE COMPANIES
Home Offices: Bloomington, Illinois



The Good Neighbor Award was developed in cooperation with the National Council for the Social Studies.

1970s conventions could book more than 2,000 downtown hotel rooms; today the number is 1,500. Downtown hotels continue to struggle, and boarded-up buildings remain an eyesore. Visitors will find just a handful of restaurants, no major department stores, no movie theaters, and no night life.

Like other convention-center backers throughout the country, Kansas City officials saw their project primarily as a catalyst for downtown revitalization. The convention-center expansion began with a plan unveiled by a private developer in 1987; he eventually promised to include a twenty-five-story World Trade Center and a flashy 800-room convention hotel along with the expanded convention center. To city officials, the beautiful architectural sketches were like a full banquet set before the starving.

A second developer's proposal had the convention center expanding in a different direction (away from the first developer's property, and toward property owned by the second). This proposal was ultimately rejected. City-council members recall little if any discussion of underlying merit or ultimate cost. A number of council members toured larger and newer facilities around the country and came back convinced that Kansas City

soon superseded by the debate over the specifics of the project.

"Lead, follow, or get the heck out of the way" was the way a *Kansas City Star* columnist characterized the prevailing spirit. A feasibility study supplied the necessary endorsement for construction. The cry was taken up by construction interests and unions, and by the city's Convention and Visitors Bureau, an independent body charged with marketing the convention center and tourism. When, in 1989, the city successfully lobbied the Missouri state legislature to contribute \$2 million a year, the deal was virtually done.

The chairman of the Convention and Visitors Bureau echoed the general optimism, suggesting that it was "worth a gamble" that convention-center construction would spark the kind of development exemplified by the promised trade center and convention hotel. A few voices, quickly drowned out, warned that the city should get the promises for affiliated construction in writing.

Many cities have discovered that their residents are not eager convention-center supporters—especially if they get a whiff of tax increases. Heywood Sanders, a professor in the Department of Urban Administration at Trinity University, in San Antonio, has documented that most of the nation's new convention centers are being built without referenda, typically by establishing separate convention authorities empowered to issue bonds without voter approval.

In Kansas City, however, a referendum was called on whether to increase hotel-motel and restaurant taxes so as to pay off the convention-center costs. In early 1990 developers, hospitality-industry members, and construction concerns mounted a \$300,000 advertising campaign, assuring voters that the expanded convention center would create jobs, encourage the construction of a new hotel, and revitalize the economy. Best of all, "two-thirds of the funds raised will come from those who live outside the city." (The ads didn't mention that the residents' one third would amount to some \$7 million a year, or that the projected jobs had an average annual salary of \$14,000—about the poverty level for a family of four.) The convention-center tax initiative passed by a landslide.

Like other new convention centers, Kansas City's will never cover its operat-

ing costs and debt expenses with rental revenues—not in the buyers' market created by dozens of competing centers. Income from the new center is projected to reach \$3 million a year. Operating costs will be around \$6.5 million, marketing will add some \$2 million, and annual debt service will be \$13 million. Some \$18 million a year will be needed to cover the overall losses.

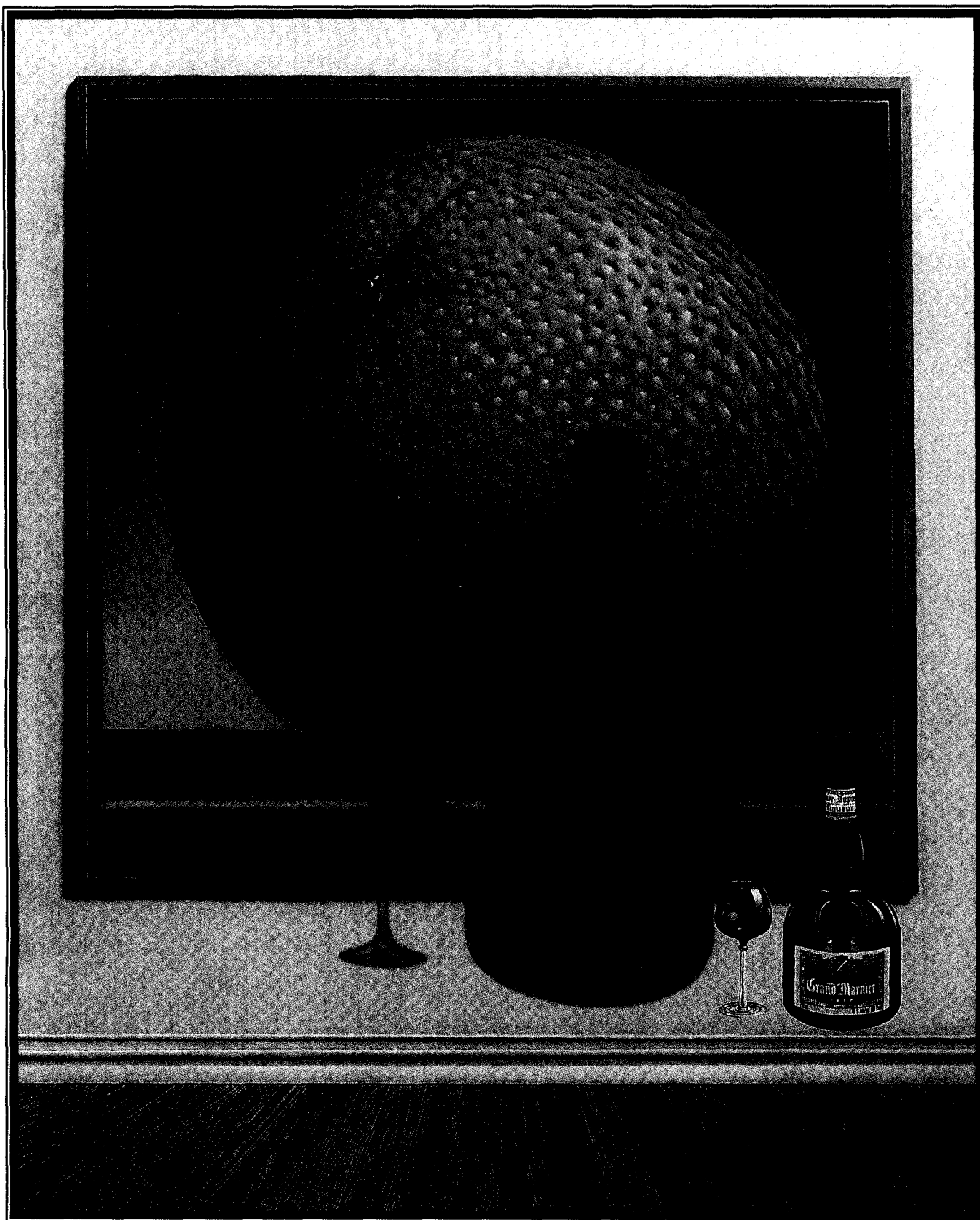
Although cities across the country have developed creative sources of income to recover such losses (horse racing in Orange County, California, for example, and the sale of air rights in Springfield, Illinois), travelers and tourists are the primary candidates to cover costs. Kansas City, like many municipalities, has raised the hotel-motel tax to help cover convention-center costs, to the tune of some \$7 million a year. But the biggest new source of income is a citywide 1.75 percent food and beverage tax, which generates more than \$9 million a year.

Virtually all cities need to subsidize their new convention centers, but this is not to say that the convention business isn't profitable—for show sponsors (largely associations of one sort or another). Although Kansas City will have to pay some \$400,000 a week in total costs (operation, debt service, and marketing) for its center, any given convention will be able to book into the center for up to \$40,000, which will provide for three to four days of exhibits and a day or two for setup and takedown. Some of the largest and most attractive conventions will get the use of the entire building free. And even when they're paying rates at the high end of the range (more than a dollar a square foot), sponsors can turn a neat profit by renting the same space to commercial booths, for an average of \$15 a square foot. Convention sponsors can make an enormous profit from a three-day show, thanks largely to public subsidies.

IF convention centers cannot come close to breaking even, why do so many cities want them? One factor is civic pride and boosterism. Kansas City officials perceived the new center not only as a source of visitor spending but also as an enhancer of the city's image. Convention centers trigger the natural competitiveness of city officials. When other cities start building centers, offi-

The convention trade is widely seen as a civic windfall, with thousands of expense-account-laden visitors dropping millions of dollars into the local economy.

was losing its competitive advantage. Even some cynicism regarding feasibility studies failed to dampen enthusiasm for the project, which was, admittedly, driven as much by emotion and intuition as by facts and figures. Since the bulk of the costs of the project would be paid by the state and by new hotel and food and beverage taxes, worries about finances were



A GRAND PORTRAIT.

For gift delivery of Grand Marnier® Liqueur (except where prohibited by law) call 1-800-243-3787.
Product of France. Made with fine cognac brandy 40% alc/vol (80 proof). ©1994 Carillon Importers, Ltd., Teaneck, NJ.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He
can go hours at
a time
without saying a
word. And yet,
she still
knows exactly what
he's thinking.
It's something you
have to experience to
truly understand.
If you have,
no explanation is
necessary.
If you haven't,
no explanation is
possible.

At
John Nuveen
and
Company, where
our tax-free
municipal
bonds
have helped
people live their
dreams for
nearly
one hundred
years,
we still believe
our strongest
bond
is human.

The human bond

NUVEEN

FOR THE BEST ADVICE ON NUVEEN INVESTMENTS, CALL YOUR INVESTMENT ADVISER. OR 1-800-632-3045.
FOR MORE COMPLETE INFORMATION ON NUVEEN TAX-FREE MUTUAL FUNDS AND UNIT TRUSTS, INCLUDING CHARGES AND EXPENSES, SEND FOR A PROSPECTUS. READ IT CAREFULLY BEFORE YOU INVEST OR SEND MONEY.
NUVEEN MAY BE SUBJECT TO STATE AND LOCAL TAXES. CAPITAL GAINS, IF ANY, WILL BE SUBJECT TO CAPITAL GAINS TAXES. ©JOHN NUVEEN & CO., INCORPORATED 1994.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cials feel they have no choice if they want to stay in the game.

In the end, convention centers have a dangerous allure. The convention trade is widely seen as a civic windfall, with thousands of expense-account-laden visitors dropping millions of dollars into the local economy without demanding that the city educate their children or guard their houses. A governing assumption is that convention centers will automatically make up their operating losses from taxes on visitors and from the overall economic benefits of visitor spending.

In other words, convention centers are the equivalent of a discount store's weekly loss leaders. Their purpose is not to make money directly but to attract customers. Once convention tourists are in town, they will spend their money in local hotels, restaurants, and stores. Naturally, the biggest boosters for convention centers are nearby hoteliers, restaurateurs, and retailers, and the construction companies and unions that thrive on large capital projects.

A more universal economic benefit is outlined in the feasibility studies that cities invariably commission, for \$50,000 or more, to provide a basis for their decisions. These reports, through sheer bulk and impressive-looking tables and charts, are clearly designed to impress the public officials who order them. What they don't do is withstand any sort of intensive scrutiny. "The benefits are invariably less than promised," says Heywood Sanders, of Trinity.

"A public-relations job," is the way Dennis Judd, a co-author of *City Politics, Private Power and Public Policy* and a professor of political science at the University of Missouri at St. Louis, characterizes the key Kansas City study, citing a number of shaky assumptions. For instance, the rosy projections that drove the decision-making assumed construction of a major convention hotel. Yet hospitality experts concur that even the heaviest convention traffic cannot alone support a major hotel, and there was plenty of evidence to suggest that existing downtown hotels were already troubled. These problems were conveniently ignored, and as the convention center rises, no new hotel is in sight. The latest proposal for one, costing \$100 million, has the developer putting up \$3 million and using the city's creditworthiness to obtain bond financ-

ing. A coalition of local business leaders says that the deal "puts the community in jeopardy." Kansas City would not be the first city so desperate for a downtown hotel that it went into the convention-center-hotel business: Tampa, Florida, is a step ahead of Kansas City in its efforts to finance a 900-room hotel with \$137 million in city bonds.

The Kansas City feasibility study also projected steady growth in the convention business, slighted the impact of other new convention centers, and used a handy device called an economic multiplier.

Economic multipliers suggest that a dollar spent in the local economy is more than a dollar gained. One dollar spent by a tourist is tracked as it travels through the city. It adds to the bellhop's income, which allows him to rent an apartment and buy groceries, both of which are activities involving other employees. One dollar is thus claimed to be worth two or three or even six or eight as it circulates—and is taxed over and over again.

"Multipliers are grossly misused," Judd says. "They're real, but they're often less than two, and they are usually based on inadequate study of the local economy." Even when multipliers have been adjusted for locale, feasibility studies typically don't adjust them for industry. Work by Marc Levine, the director of the Center for Economic Development at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, has demonstrated that no given multiplier is appropriate across the board—in Milwaukee impact varies by industry from a multiplier of three for the auto-parts industry to one of 1.7 for tourism. "You can always find an economist who'll give you a sufficient multiplier," admits David Arnold, a hospitality consultant based in Philadelphia.

In the key Kansas City study, which was conducted by the now-defunct consulting firm of Laventhal and Horwarth, each dollar spent by conventioners was considered to multiply to \$3.30 for the county and to \$4.50 for the state of Missouri, with plenty left over for neighboring Kansas. A report prepared after the city council's decision, by the Mid-America Regional Council, the quasi-autonomous regional planning authority for Kansas City, reduced the multiplier to a more realistic 1.8.

Levine is one of the few academic researchers who have focused on the eco-

nomie impact of tourism. His work, including an extensive case study of Baltimore, indicates that overall economic development from tourism has been "dramatically overrated." Instead of sparking an economic revival, it produces a limited number of low-income and part-time jobs. Whereas feasibility reports look at possible futures, Levine suggests looking

*The feasibility studies,
with their impressive
tables and charts, are
clearly designed to
impress the officials who
order them. They don't
withstand scrutiny.*

at case studies. He mentions in particular Third World countries, whose tourism-based economies have not brought wealth to their populations in general, and New Orleans, which he describes as one of the most successful tourism centers in America but also one of the poorest cities.

Finally, convention-center feasibility studies readily admit (if you translate the technical language) that they make no claim to study comparative merit. Could the same \$100 million or \$200 million bring in new industries with high-paying jobs? What could this money do to rejuvenate neighborhoods, repair streets, improve schools, or reduce infant mortality? Not only will you not find the answers in these studies; you can't even find the questions.

It is typically argued that convention-center funding comes from travel taxes—primarily hotel and motel surcharges. The assumption here, as is made quite plain by the hospitality industry, is that taxing visitors is okay, but only if the proceeds are used to recruit more visitors. Increasingly, though, hotel taxes can't cover the cost of lavish new centers, and creative new taxes are being employed.

Center boosters would like to pretend that these levies are the equivalent of user

taxes, but Kansas City is quite typical in that 95 percent of hotel taxes come from the pockets of ordinary business and pleasure travelers, and only some five percent from conventioners. And the food and beverage tax is fundamentally a tax on residents.

Hospitality interests cry foul if a suggestion is made that these taxes might be used for purposes other than bringing in the occasional horde of conventioners. But tax revenue is tax revenue, and sooner or later cities are going to look longingly at the millions that are being gathered at hotels and restaurants, transported through potholed and crime-infested streets, and sunk into once state-of-the-art (if frequently vacant) downtown convention centers.

IN spite of growing evidence that the benefits of convention centers have been greatly exaggerated, expansions and new construction continue. Open for business late last year, the \$500 million Los Angeles Convention Center has been described as the largest public-works project in Los Angeles history. St. Louis's \$380 million center will be completed in October of 1995. Charlotte, North Carolina, is a new competitor for major convention business with its \$141 million

either have recently been expanded or are undergoing renovation. A 1993 Trade Show Bureau survey of cities with existing centers showed that 55 percent were planning expansions or new facilities.

The expansions suggest a booming industry, yet demand for space has shown essentially no growth over the past two years, and no available evidence suggests that the situation will improve anytime soon. An American Society of Association Executives forum recently assessed at 40 percent the probability that the trade-show industry would experience a disastrous downward spiral into the early part of the next century.

Projections from those who manage convention centers are hardly rosier. John Swinburn, the executive director of the International Association of Auditorium Managers, wrote in the summer of 1992, "I believe there may be a severe shake-out in the not-too-distant future that may rock the entire business of conventions, consumer shows, and trade shows." Unless centers start paying their way, he predicted, city officials may simply get out of the convention business and convert their centers into enormous community centers.

The convention business is not likely to be helped by the latest changes in the federal tax code. Reductions in the deductibility of entertainment expenses and spousal travel are being described as severe negatives for the convention industry.

Will some communities prosper even if demand remains flat? In fact a few convention centers do seem to be the economic engines that are widely promised. Large convention centers surrounded by hotels, in cities with innate appeal, will always attract the biggest shows and conventions. But for those cities, like Las Vegas, Anaheim, and Orlando, convention-center business is just the icing on the cake of an already large number of visitors.

Jealous cities commonly overlook this, imagining that a gorgeous convention center can substitute for a vibrant city, vacation amenities, or a wonderful climate. Even the generous arithmetic of a feasibility expert admits the possibility of trouble. David Petersen, of Price Waterhouse, the dean of the feasibility business, called convention centers "a barometer of center city health" in a 1992 article for *Urban Land* magazine. What

Petersen meant is that locations without strong "destination appeal" will have unprofitable convention centers, no matter how enthusiastically the numbers are tweaked. A convention center can be a worthwhile bonus to an area that is already rich in visitors and hotels, but a hotel-poor downtown in Kansas City or Los Angeles cannot expect fluctuating convention traffic to justify construction of a single large hotel, let alone revitalize the city.

John Swinburn, of the facility managers' association, thinks that rental fees must more nearly cover costs, and that centers will have to run their own shows, collecting the huge profits available to show sponsors. Convention centers are moving cautiously in this direction by absorbing some peripheral profit centers, such as catering and other services. The model for profit-generating convention centers exists in Europe, where community-sponsored exhibition halls operate their own shows and reap the rewards. But, as Swinburn admits, this possibility becomes more and more remote with each new convention-center ribbon cutting.

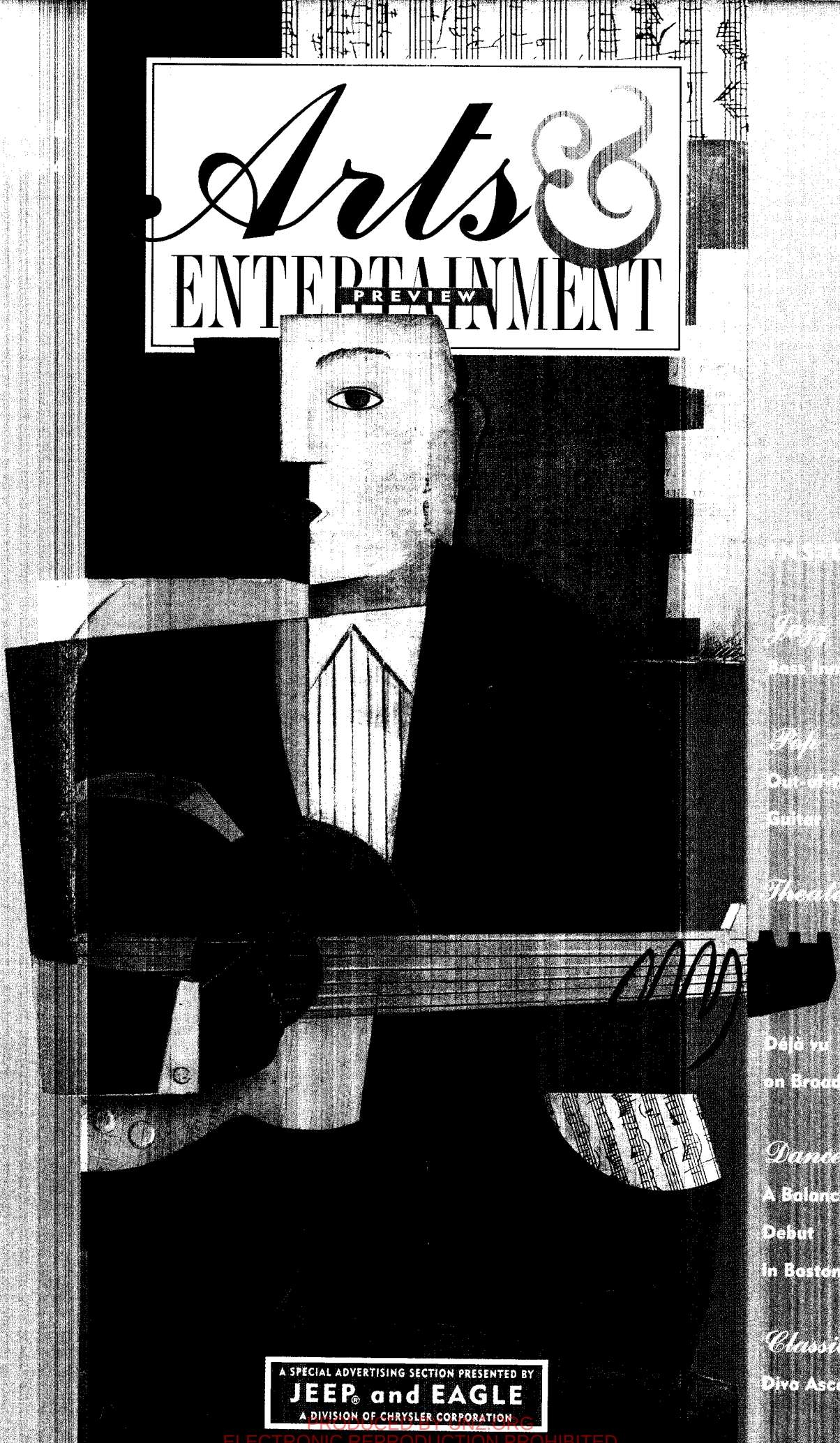
The desire for showplace convention centers continues, inflamed largely by special interests, civic pride, and the sort of mob mentality that leads to gold rushes and bank runs. Every city is afraid of being left behind, and seems undisturbed by the prospect of twenty-five years of multimillion-dollar debt. Taxes on business and pleasure travelers—who make up the vast majority of hotel users—continue to subsidize convention centers, creating a situation in which traveling Americans support one another's economic recklessness.

Once the investment is made, a city has little choice but to remain in the bidding wars to attract major conventions. For a few days a year the hospitality industry in cities like Kansas City and Providence will glory in the convention business as "city-wides" (conventions large enough to match the hospitality capacities of the host city) fill hotels and restaurants. But all this activity will not correct the basic flaws in the convention-center logic—flaws that mean unending tax support will be needed and urban development will be consistently disappointing.

We will all be paying the price for many years to come. Just check the surcharge on your next hotel bill. ☛

The desire for showplace convention centers is inflamed by special interests, civic pride, and the sort of mob mentality that leads to gold rushes and bank runs.

center, to open early in 1995, as is Columbus, Ohio, with its new \$94 million center. A \$700 million domed stadium and convention-center complex is the focus of hot debate in Boston. New centers are under way or recently opened in San Antonio, Austin, Mobile, Philadelphia, and Providence. Centers in Atlanta, Dallas, Las Vegas, San Francisco, and Chicago



Arts & ENTERTAINMENT

PREVIEW

INSIDE

Jazz

Bass Innovations

Pop

Out-of-this-world

Guitar

Theater

Déjà vu
on Broadway

Dance

A Balanchine
Debut
in Boston

Classical

Diva Ascendant?

A SPECIAL ADVERTISING SECTION PRESENTED BY
JEEP® and EAGLE
A DIVISION OF CHRYSLER CORPORATION

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Popular Music and Jazz

BY BOB BLUMENTHAL AND CHARLES M. YOUNG

NEW ALBUMS BY HADEN AND WASSERMAN PUT THE BASS AT CENTER STAGE

Few bass violinists dare to create their own musical environment, but Charlie Haden and Rob Wasserman have done so with their respective new albums.

Haden, a film noir fan from childhood, formed Quartet West in 1986. In the course of four albums, including the new *Always Say Goodbye* (Verve), he has created audio vignettes that echo the bittersweet toughness of a Raymond Chandler whodunit. The band's restrained heat creates moody programs balancing obscure pop, bop-era clas-



Charlie Haden

sics, and atmospheric originals. Haden sets his performances against vintage instrumental and vocal recordings, creating an effect less like the "sampling" of contemporary rap than the montages of a skilled film editor.

Rob Wasserman turned heads with his virtuosic album *Solo* in 1983. That was followed by *Duets*, on which the bassist teamed with diverse vocalists. Wasserman's trilogy is now complete with *Trios* (MCA/GRP), a baker's dozen of three-part inventions. This time Wasserman plays two distinct roles. As virtuoso, he highlights the versatility of the bass and his instrumental acumen in eclectic collaborations with Kronos Quartet cellist Joan Jeanrenaud and



Rob Wasserman

Chicago blues legend Willie Dixon. As accompanist, he partners with pop vocalists (including Edie Brickell, Elvis Costello, and Bruce Hornsby) and achieves mixed results, from the off-hand grunge of "Easy Answers" (with Bob Weir and Neil Young) to the edge-city reveries of Brian Wilson and his daughter Carnie on the stunning "Fantasy Is Reality / Bells of Madness." —**B.B.**

TRANSCENDENT TIBBETTS

Steve Tibbetts's *The Fall of Us All* (his sixth album for ECM) is definitely not recommended for long drives. The music takes you far deeper than the normal light trance that permits attentiveness on the highway. On the other hand, if you're stuck in a traffic jam and want to forget yourself completely, or if you just want to zone out on your couch, Tibbetts's guitar-from-beyond-the-solar-system will take you to realms hitherto glimpsed only by the Hubble space telescope and will offer several plausible explanations of dark matter. Reminiscent when he's loud of late, jazzified Hendrix and in softer moments of the acoustic John McLaughlin, Tibbetts leads an ensemble propelled by a powerful percussion section that includes a tabla, congas, steel drums, sundry electronic samples, and none of the usual hardware of the common drum set. This makes for a unique sound—lots of drive, particularly from the tabla, and lots of clarity, because nothing is drowned in cymbal wash. A native of Madison, Wisconsin, currently



Tibbetts in his Minneapolis habitat

living in Minneapolis, Tibbetts has spent a lot of time studying percussion in the Far East. Those studies have obviously informed the eleven highly dynamic compositions here. This is not jazz, not rock, not dance, not world, not even of this world. Call it ethereal clarity. —**C.M.Y.**

BLUES COMES BACK TO THE FUTURE

The commercial use of Muddy Waters's tunes to sell work boots to middle-aged white men who don't need them reveals a popular and long overdue trend. It could be that marketers best understand the appeal of blues as a masculine celebration that, unlike "gangsta rap," doesn't involve the accompanying stereotypical behavior that men and women alike can find obnoxious. Blues survivors like John Lee Hooker and Buddy Guy are selling lots of tickets and records despite being well beyond MTV's age limit.

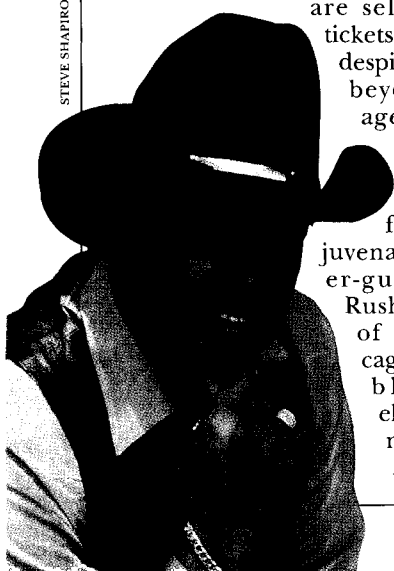
The latest deserving candidate for career rejuvenation is singer-guitarist Otis Rush, who came of age in Chicago just as the blues went electric, in the mid-fifties. Along with

Guy, Magic Sam, and Willie Dixon, he created on Cobra Records the "West Side sound" that influenced British blues so strongly in the sixties (check out the boxed set *The Cobra Records Story*, on Capricorn). But by the seventies nobody was interested, and Rush dropped out of the business. Now he's back with *Ain't Enough Comin' In* (Mercury). Rush's guitar falls halfway between B. B. King's and Eric Clapton's—clean, fluid, and powerfully emotive in just a few notes, as opposed to the many-noted reserve of blues epigones. The album is a balance of Rush originals and classics made famous by Sam Cooke, Ray Charles, and Albert King.

Ain't Enough Comin' In doesn't break new ground, but the old ground it covers hasn't been improved upon since Rush and his peers first broke it, almost forty years ago. So who needs new ground? Rush remains a great blues guitar virtuoso, and only now is he receiving the benefits of first-rate production. Watch for his tour. —**C.M.Y.**

Bob Blumenthal is a jazz critic for The Boston Globe and CD Review.

Charles M. Young is a New York-based writer.



VERVE

STEVE SHAPIRO

MCA/GRP

JONETTE NOVAK

Dance and Theater

BY AUSTIN BAER AND LAURA JACOBS

MILESTONES FOR ALVIN AILEY AND LAR LUBOVITCH

Under the leadership of Ailey empress Judith Jamison, the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater heads into its 35th anniversary season with a dancing-machine gleam and a refurbished repertory. Jerome Robbins, for instance, offered the company his *N.Y. Export Op. Jazz*, a beatnik work from 1958. The dancers look fab in it, if a little underexerted. But then, by 1960 they were ready for the life-and-death velocities of Ailey's vision—the speed, the heat, the runaway-slave scare of *Revelations*' "Sinner Man," a drop-dead spectacle quite unlike anything else in dance. This season Jamison has contributed *Hymn*, an anniversary homage to the Ailey aesthetic complete with voiceover by the actress Anna Deavere Smith. The company (212-767-0590) will tour the country in April and



Alvin Ailey Dance Theater

May, with one-week stints in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago.

Modern-dance man Lar Lubovitch has been up in lights lately for his work in ballet. American Ballet Theatre nabbed his "Ballet of the Red Shoes," the climactic (and best) twenty minutes of the ill-fated Broadway musical *The Red Shoes*, and has scheduled it for May 2, 4, 5, and 11 at Lincoln Center. Meanwhile, the Lar Lubovitch Dance Company, celebrating its 25th anniversary, will be at Chicago's Shubert Theatre April 28 to 30, after a ten-year absence. The engagement is a chance for Chicagoans to catch up with Lubovitch's most famous work of the decade, *Concerto Six Twenty-Two* (1985), which includes the gentle duet for two men which may be dance's most plaintive statement from the early age of AIDS.

—L.J.

BROADWAY: THE GREAT WHITE TIME WARP?



It's raining snobs

Within living memory love for the Broadway musical has changed from love for a living tradition to love for a tradition that has died. "New" musicals are pastiche (*Crazy for You*, a gem) or ghostly phantom operas (*Miss Saigon*, *Les Miz*) for which the right term has yet to be invented. No wonder producers try to turn back the clock. The new spin in the current, jaundiced *My Fair Lady* is the contribution of the director, Howard Davies. There's one blissful moment, when the snobs at Ascot rain from the flies like the bankers of Magritte, but alas, the dim leads all but disappear before one's eyes (Virginia Theatre, 212-239-6200). A revival of *Damn Yankees*, in

rehearsal as we go to press, promises period re-creation of a more straightforward sort. George Abbott, 106 years of age, is doctoring his own script with director Jack O'Brien, and in Bebe Neuwirth and Victor Garber the show has the kind of old-time sharp, snazzy personalities to make it shine. (Marquis Theatre, 212-307-4100.)

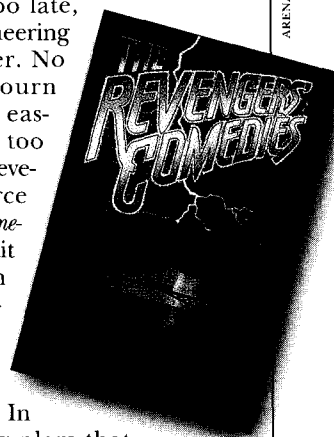
—A.B.

Austin Baer is a New York-based writer.
Laura Jacobs is editor in chief of Stagebill.

HELL TO PAY

Alan Ayckbourn, often called (none too aptly) the British Neil Simon, knows the games people play. His side-splitting plots—intricate as a Swiss watch and clear as crystal—show *Homo sapiens* at his most foolish, grasping, and venal. The vision is savage and no one is forgiven, least of all the audience. In *A Small Family Business*, Ayckbourn's last to reach Broadway, spectators' guffaws stuck in their craws when they realized, too late, that they were cheering a violent murder. No wonder Ayckbourn does not travel easily: he makes us too nervous. His two-evening tour de force *The Revengers' Comedies* has had to wait three years for an American production. Arena Stage, in Washington, D.C., does the honors. In a season of long plays that feel long (*The Kentucky Cycle*, *Angels in America*), Ayckbourn's may be the long play that feels swift (and Swiftian). As in *Strangers on a Train*, two chance acquaintances conspire—one against his will—to even each other's emotional scores. In Ayckbourn's splendid gallery of roles, none is better than Karen Knightley, a vindictive fury, played in the capital by Ellen Karas. Watch her like a hawk. A clever young actress should be willing to kill for a part this good. (April 1 to June 12. Box office: 202-488-3300.)

—A.B.



ARENA STAGE

BOURRÉES AT THE BOSTON BALLET

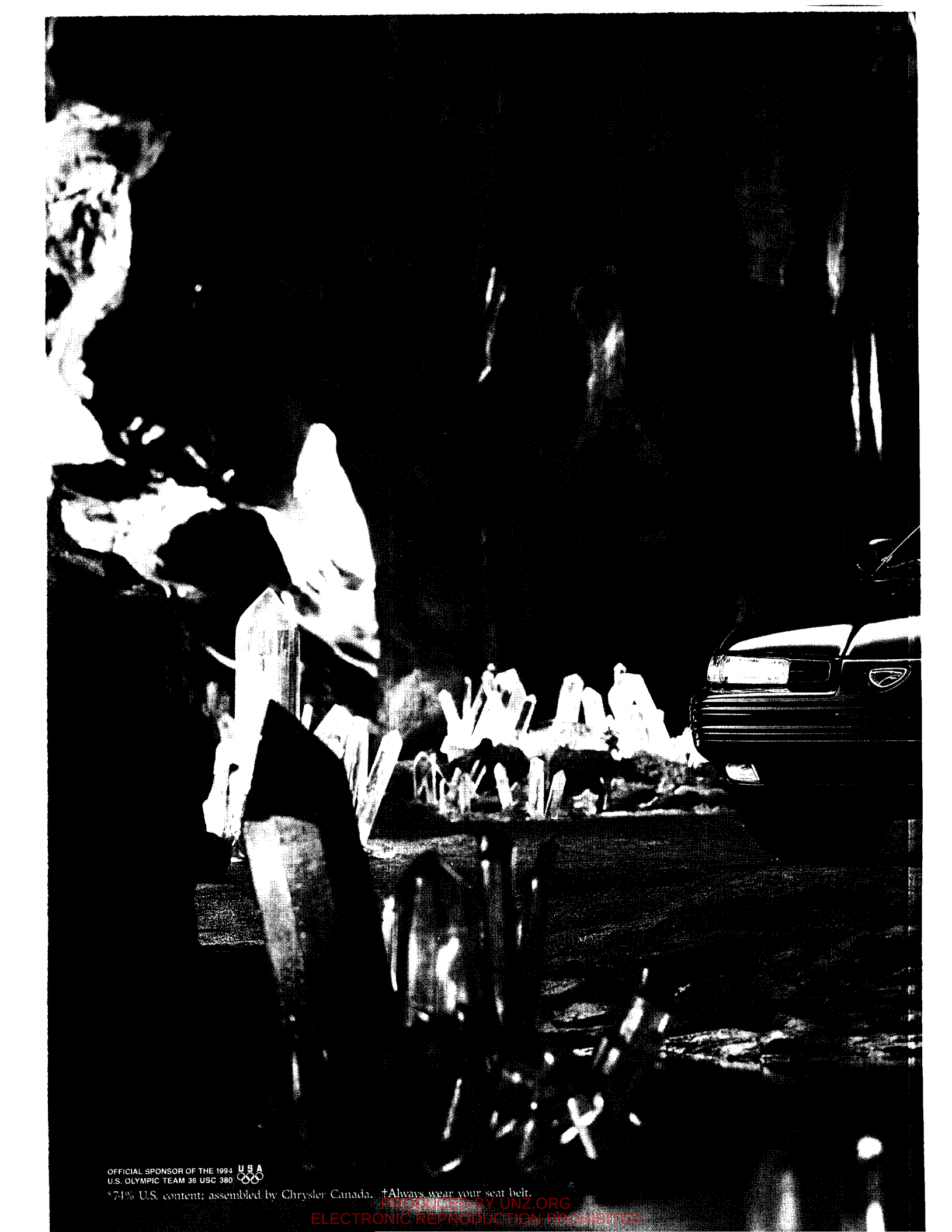


Mozartiana

For the first time ever a company other than the New York City Ballet is performing Balanchine's last masterpiece, *Mozartiana* (1981). This plush, hushed little psalm—a pastoral that waggles a dainty foot over the grave—pays bursting homage to the icons of Mr. B's life: ballet steps, Tchaikovsky, Mozart, God, and, of course, the ballerina, as embodied by Suzanne Farrell. The Boston Ballet (617-695-6950) will perform the work March 31 to April 10. Farrell, who has called the ballet "heaven," traveled to Boston to teach the work, and chose the delicate Larissa Ponomarenko to dance opening night. What was the Muse's advice? "She explained a bit about the different style of variations," Ponomarenko comments. "One is more sweet and cute, another more mysterious. But mostly she said, 'Listen to the music, and follow your heart.'"

—L.J.

PAUL ROLNIK



OFFICIAL SPONSOR OF THE 1994 U.S. OLYMPIC TEAM 36 USC 380

*74% U.S. content; assembled by Chrysler Canada. †Always wear your seat belt.

PROHIBITED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is the Eagle Vision TSi.

Some people might be surprised to learn that this is an American sports sedan.* But, because of its 24-valve 214 horsepower engine, anti-lock brakes, driver and front passenger air bags,† Eagle Vision has a lot of people turning in their imports. We're not really surprised by this.

We view it as a new kind of...foreign trade agreement.

Eagle Vision.  Please call 1-800-JEEP-EAGLE.



A Division of the Chrysler Corporation.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classical Music

BY AUSTIN BAER

THIRTY-TWO TIMES THREE

There are a thousand ways to approach the Beethoven piano sonatas, and not one of them would count for much if it did not glance at some of the others. Into the richly flexible genre passed down by Franz Josef Haydn, that master of evolving classical form, Ludwig van Beethoven injected new strains of revolutionary drama, idealistic poetry, and piercing philosophical speculation into his sonatas. Taken together, the celebrated

Alfred Brendel, the Herr Professor among our star pianists, probes this repertoire with fingers of steel and a mind like a scalpel. In the eighties he used to perform the entire set in concert within a single season; his landmark interpretations were recorded by Philips Classics. Today, at sixty-three, Brendel operates at a pace less Herculean, spreading the sonatas out over several seasons. This April and May, in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Toronto, New York, and Princeton, he presents nine of the thirty-two, juxtaposing some of the earliest with such mature

masterpieces as the "Appassionata" (No. 23) and "Les Adieux" (No. 26). (Call 212-772-1132 for details.) An initial installment last season (plus seminars) indicated no mellowing of Brendel's outlook. His (ice-cold) passion is still for logic, architecture.

His view does not stand unchallenged, notably on records. A cycle by Ireland's John O'Connor (Telarc) reaches its ninth and concluding volume this month. There are listeners on whom its rewards will be lost. O'Connor's accounts are supremely civilized—to some ears, no doubt too much so; even the scores' most volcanic eruptions are rendered fit for the salon. (It helps to know that O'Connor is a champion also of his countryman John Field, 1782–1837, originator of the nocturne, that brief lyric form brought to fullest flower by Chopin.)

The general acclaim for the recent traversal of the sonatas by Richard Goode (ten CDs, Elektra Nonesuch), however, is verging on the fanatical. Like Brendel, Goode gets points from the critics for "logic" and "architecture"; one might rather stress his range of expression, his generosity of spirit, his elasticity of line, his revelry in the sounds of his instrument.



Alfred Brendel



John O'Connor



Richard Goode

BURNING BRIGHT

I tried to create a vast popular fresco, that is all," said Arthur Honegger of *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher* (*Joan of Arc at the Stake*)—as if that were so easy. He succeeded gloriously, yet the oratorio is seldom heard. The huge cast of singers and actors simply costs too much. When someone spends the money, audiences invariably take fire. The text, by Paul Claudel, sets the eclectic tone. Devotion abuts satire. The saint in her ecstasy converses with angels; at her trial, she must answer to a



Masur with the New York Philharmonic

pig. (Yes, a pig, as in *Animal Farm*.) Nor does it hurt that Joan, a speaking role, is made to order for a movie star: once Ingrid Bergman, these days the radiant Marthe Keller, who has recorded the work with Seiji Ozawa and the Orchestre National de France (Deutsche Grammophon) and repeats it now with the New York Philharmonic under Kurt Masur (Avery Fisher Hall, New York, April 6–8; 212-721-6500).

Austin Baer is a New York-based writer.

SUPERSTARDOM FOR AN AMERICAN SIREN?

Leontyne Price, Jessye Norman, Kiri Te Kanawa, Kathleen Battle: classy first ladies of song, each with the rare gift of speaking both to the snobs and to the hoi polloi in our age's fatally cleft culture. The time is ripe for the emergence of a new avatar, but are such careers still possible? If so, the most determined candidate on the horizon is surely the American soprano Cheryl Studer ("Cherry Strudel" to her fans), who at thirty-eight has chalked up an operatic discography that for quantity and variety might be the work of a dozen artists. Nature has given

Studer a grand, lustrous instrument, a quick mind, and fiery dramatic instincts. The leap to superstardom in the world at large would require something in addition: the ability to shine alone, in recital. But Studer's voice seems to want to leap and dive and revel in the orchestra's multitudinous ocean. In her recordings to date, the accompaniment of a single piano leaves her high and dry. Still, who knows? Studer's first major American recitals, in Miami (April 24) and at Carnegie Hall (May 4), might correct this impression. It will be worth finding out.



JEEP® and EAGLE

A DIVISION OF CHRYSLER CORPORATION

The Jeep and Eagle Division of Chrysler Corporation is the sponsor of this month's Arts & Entertainment Preview. Jeep and Eagle is also a sponsor of the Concert Music Network of classical radio stations.

In April join host Skitch Henderson for *An Evening at the Pops*, an exclusive, one-hour radio presentation of Jeep and Eagle. This month's programming includes "The American Song Machine," "Music of the Movies," "The Genius of Leonard Bernstein," and "Music about Rivers, Waters, and Streams." To locate the CMN station nearest you call 212-532-1900.

The World's First 4x4 With An Air Bag.



It would be difficult to talk about Jeep Grand Cherokee Limited without discussing its remarkable strength and capability.



After all, Grand Cherokee offers an available 5.2 litre V8, plus standard four-wheel anti-lock brakes, an advanced four-wheel drive system, as well as side-guard door beams. But perhaps the most remarkable feature of Grand Cherokee is the one that we hope you never use—a driver's side air bag†. Grand Cherokee is the world's first 4x4 to

come equipped with a driver's side air bag—and it's standard on every Grand Cherokee model.

With such a wide array of standard features, it's easy to see why Jeep Grand Cherokee is at the top of its class. But then, getting to the top is nothing new to Jeep.

For more information, please call 1-800-JEEP-EAGLE.

There's Only One Jeep®

A Division of the Chrysler Corporation.



†Always wear your seat belt.

Jeep is a registered trademark of Chrysler Corporation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



China's Gilded Age

A journey through a country bursting with new wealth but besotted by corruption and threatened by a split between its prosperous cities and its stagnant rural areas

RECENTLY I took a six-week journey across China. It was my first trip back since I came to the United States to study, in 1985. In the course of my visit I saw—I felt—the perturbations of profound and chaotic social change. China's stunning

hurtle from a centrally planned economy to a free market has set off an economic explosion and generated tremendous prosperity. Its economic growth was 13 percent in 1993, and average personal income in urban areas has doubled since 1985. With the state-owned

Beijing's McDonald's, the world's largest, caters to the newly prosperous

sector accounting for less than 30 percent of total economic output, the socialist system is becoming an empty shell. Across China

the lines between the state and private economies are blurring. At the largest national department store in Shanghai, a symbol of Chinese socialist business, customers now bargain for better prices.

The counters within the store have been contracted out to shop clerks, who decide the prices. Dual ownership has in essence turned this state enterprise into a private business. Asked if such a practice is an example of China's "socialist market economy," a professor of economics at Nanjing University, where I taught in the early 1980s, replied, "Nobody knows what the concept means. It is only rhetoric, and it can mean anything but socialism."

With capitalism unleashed and investment from overseas stimulating the economy, China has become a land of opportunity. Rags-to-riches success stories fill

people's conversation. Zhao Zhangguang, an herbalist whose "101" hair-stimulating lotion has sold extremely well around the world, has become one of China's richest men. In 1993 alone his net profits reached up to \$50 million. Even some of my relatives have become millionaires. A distant cousin who was a high school teacher until 1986 told me modestly that he had made "a little money" by opening a factory that produces bristle brushes for export to America. He drove me to his new summer house in his new Mercedes-Benz 500SEL, one of his three luxury cars. "This is China's Gilded Age," a former colleague of mine commented sarcastically. "These Chinese Carnegies and Rockefellers are more successful than their American counterparts—they made more money within a shorter time."

To be sure, not everyone gets rich quick, but the economic boom has brought most urban Chinese a huge improvement in their standard of living. Color TV sets, refrigerators, and VCRs, considered luxuries when I lived in China, can be found in almost every working-class urban household—at least in the prosperous coastal cities. For the first time in my life I saw some overweight people in my home town of Yangzhou. With fax machines, satellite television, computer modems, and radio talk shows, the Chinese are well informed about events in the outside world. They may even know as much as the average American about happenings in the United States. Hillary Clinton's health-insurance program, the gay-rights movement, and daily prices on the U.S. stock exchanges are familiar matters throughout China.

Of course, China is far from being an open and free society. Last August the government announced that it had sentenced a journalist, Wu Shishen, to life imprisonment in Beijing for his alleged selling of an "internal document" to a Hong Kong magazine for about \$870. However, in other aspects of life the state has relaxed its control. In 1985, when I was last in China, the campaign against "spiritual pollution" was still under way, and it destroyed the careers of many intellectuals. One of my colleagues in Nanjing was sent to the countryside to receive "re-education" for his "unhealthy soul." He was ac-

“There’s one thing you have to invest in a mutual fund besides money...time.”

Bill Berger
President

Our investment philosophy is based on my experience of over forty years which has weathered thirteen bear and fourteen bull markets. The truth is that any mutual fund’s performance — including the Berger 100 Fund and the Berger 101 Fund — will only be as good as the companies in its portfolio. And so we search for profitable, successful companies because we believe they are most apt to become profitable, successful investments. While a fund’s past performance does not guarantee future results, we believe the success of these companies and their potential for growth makes them quality, long-term investments.

ANNUALIZED PERFORMANCE & MORNINGSTAR RATINGS						
Berger 100 Fund	1 Year 21.2%	3 Years ★★★★★ [†] 35.4%	5 Years ★★★★★ 28.3%	10 Years ★★★★★ 17.3%	15 Years 17.6%	19 Years^{††} 16.1%
Berger 101 Fund	1 Year 23.6%	3 Years ★★★★★ [†] 27.8%	5 Years ★★★★★ 18.2%	10 Years ★★★★ 13.4%	15 Years 14.6%	19 Years^{††} 14.4%

For the period ending 12/31/93. Source: Lipper Analytical Services, Inc. *Morningstar proprietary ratings reflect historical risk-adjusted performance as of 1/31/94. The ratings are subject to change every month. Morningstar ratings are calculated from the funds’ three-, five- and ten-year average annual returns with appropriate fee adjustments and a risk factor that reflects fund performance relative to three-month Treasury bill monthly returns. Ten percent of the funds in an investment category receive five stars and 22.5% receive four stars. **Berger Associates assumed management of the Funds 9/30/74.

If our thinking complements your own, the next step is to see which Berger Fund is right for you. Both have earned the Morningstar five-star overall rating[†], but each has a different investment objective.

The Berger 100 Fund is a growth fund which invests in what we think are the best of the current faster-growing companies.

The Berger 101 Fund is a growth and income fund which tends to own larger, established companies whose growth is often confirmed by a record of paying dividends.

You can open an account with as little as \$250 or add to an existing account with just \$50. And while periodic investments do not assure a profit nor protect against loss in declining markets, our low minimums help keep it easy for you to start saving for college, retirement or anything you want in your future.

Please call (800) 333-1001

for a prospectus containing more complete information including management fees, charges and expenses. Read it carefully before investing.

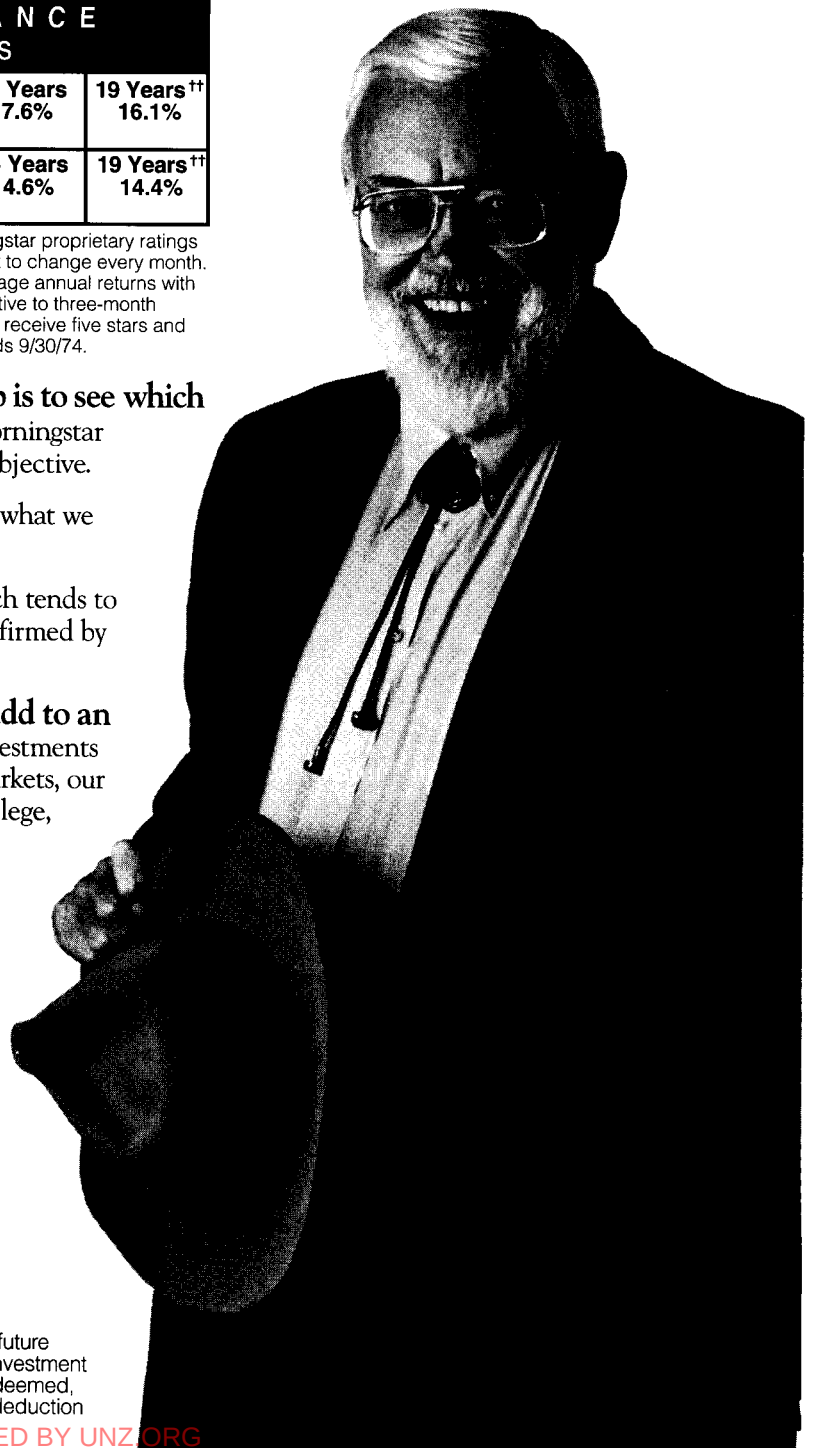


Together we can move mountains.SM

The figures in the chart represent past performance and do not guarantee future results. These performance figures include changes in share price and reinvestment of dividends and capital gains, which will fluctuate so that shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. The figures include the deduction of 12b-1 fees beginning in June, 1990.

© 1994 Berger Associates, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



cused of looking closely at the breasts of a woman student while he talked excitedly about graphic sexual portrayals in the fiction of Saul Bellow. Now the government seems to put fewer restrictions on popular culture and even risqué material from the West. In a hair salon a few blocks from my old home in Yangzhou glossy posters of naked girls cover the walls. Entering the shopping center of Jinling Hotel, in Nanjing, I was astounded to see a Playboy Bunny calendar welcoming customers. I was particularly struck by the sight because at Occidental College, where I have been teaching, there was a heated debate among students over whether the magazine should be removed from the college library.

Hearing my astonishment at the government's new tolerance of looser sexual mores, a friend of mine smiled. "The authorities now consider sex socially permissible and morally acceptable," he said. "It may be because the government feels that when people are interested in sex, they have less time to concern themselves with other issues."

I DO not know how accurate my friend's comments are, but a recent study by the *Xinmin Evening News*, in Shanghai, indicates that the number of couples engaged in premarital or extramarital affairs in China is skyrocketing. Meanwhile, the quest for democracy has waned. Gone are the days when enthusiasm for political reform was the prevailing emotion in society. Having tasted the fruits of prosperity, ordinary Chinese are now more interested in

making money. They fear that radical political reform may cost them their new wealth. A recent opinion poll conducted by the *Shenzhen Commercial Daily* discovered that 88 percent of residents in Beijing were concerned with inflation, and 81 percent with social stability. Only 42 percent showed some slight interest in politics. Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this trend in social thought is the change in certain formalities. Until the end of the 1970s "*tongzhi*" ("comrade") was the standard form of address used by one Chinese to another. In the post-Mao 1980s the term "*xiansheng*" ("sir") gained popularity. Today "*laoban*" ("boss" or "manager") has become fashionable.

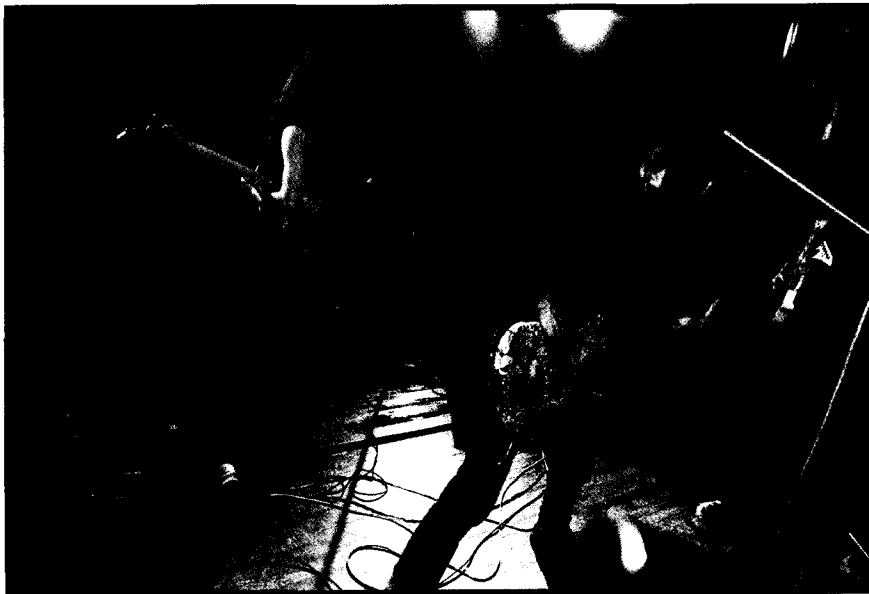
Similarly, the catchword "*canzheng*" ("participate in political reform") has been replaced by "*xiahai*" ("plunge into the sea"), which refers to going into business. Many of my former colleagues in Nanjing have plunged into the sea, hoping to make their fortunes. A friend of mine who was a classicist by training, and who liked to argue with me about the origins of parliamentary democracy, has become a cosmetics salesman—a job that I can hardly associate with his background and interests. When I mentioned this, he laughed. "Well, I have taken an indirect course to fight for democracy," he said, "because the growth of independent wealth, whether legitimate or ill-gotten, will surely erode the Party's control of the people." He may not be representative of China's educated elite, but many scholars seem to share his view that the most prudent course for intellectuals who champion the

cause of democracy is to accommodate the economic demands of the masses.

Of course, people have not forgotten the Tiananmen Square crackdown of 1989, but they now believe that the best prospect for democracy in China is "peaceful evolution"—the Asian model, emphasizing social stability and economic prosperity rather than radical political changes, which many Chinese see as dangerously volatile. A restaurant owner who was sitting next to me in a train to Zhengjiang admitted that he had no intention of risking his good life by embracing the abstract notion of democracy. "You know, democracy is a luxury," he continued, after I bought him a bottle of Tsingtao beer. "Only people who have enough food on their dinner table can afford democracy. Look at the Russians: the root of their problem is that there is too much freedom but too little bread."

Indeed, the social upheaval and the rise of neo-Nazism as a result of unemployment and poverty in Russia—China's "Big Brother" in the 1950s—have caused great doubt about the wisdom of radical political change. Ordinary Chinese observe with dread that the Russian economy has sharply declined since the collapse of the old system, and that Russian society is violent and perpetually unstable. Horrible stories of Russian girls engaging in prostitution in China are widely circulated and reported in Chinese newspapers. In a crackdown last summer about a dozen Russian women in Guangzhou (Canton) were arrested for what a police spokesman called "doing pornographic business." The miserable experience of these Russian girls is recounted vividly by Cheng Naishan, a feminist writer in Shanghai. In her recent short story "White Russians, Red Russians," she tells how a daughter of a Russian aristocrat who fled to China after the Russian Revolution ended up as a prostitute in Shanghai. Now she is appalled to learn that a group of Russian girls, recruited by a posh hotel in Shanghai, have become the same kind of "Russian Miss" as was found in those pre-1949 days.

For many Chinese, the Russian lesson appears to be that only after a nation achieves a relatively high level of economic prosperity



Cultural evolution, in the form of a rock concert by Beijing's Chozai (Overload)



Carmona, Cantabria

One of the less popular views of Spain.

Northern Spain comes as an unexpected bonus to travelers who thought they had seen everything Spain has to offer. In the regions of Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria and the Basque Country, first-time visitors will find a pleasant surprise around every corner. As you can see, the terrain doesn't conform to most people's perception of Spain. Villages nestle in the lush valleys against a perpetual backdrop of mountains. But that's the real beauty of "Green" Spain. The daily discovery of hidden gems, be it prehistoric caves at Altamira, the small fishing port at Vivero, a night in Charles I's castle at Hondarribia or the uncannily orange sunset in Naranjo de Bulnes. Should you pine for the occasional glimpse of the ocean, simply take the nearest wooded valley to the coast and walk the deserted sands or watch the fishing boats returning with your supper. It's at times like these you'll see Green Spain in its real colors. And with a 40% stronger dollar than last year, it's a great time to see it.



Spain. Passion for life.

Spain '94. Yes, I want to take advantage of the strong dollar. Please rush me information.

Tourist Office of Spain • New York: 665 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10022. Tel: (212) 759-8822 • Chicago: 845 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60611, Tel: (312) 642-1992
• Miami: 1221 Brickell Ave., Suite 1850, Miami, FL 33131, Tel: (305) 358-1992 • Los Angeles: 8383 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 960, Beverly Hills, CA 90211, Tel: (213) 658-7188

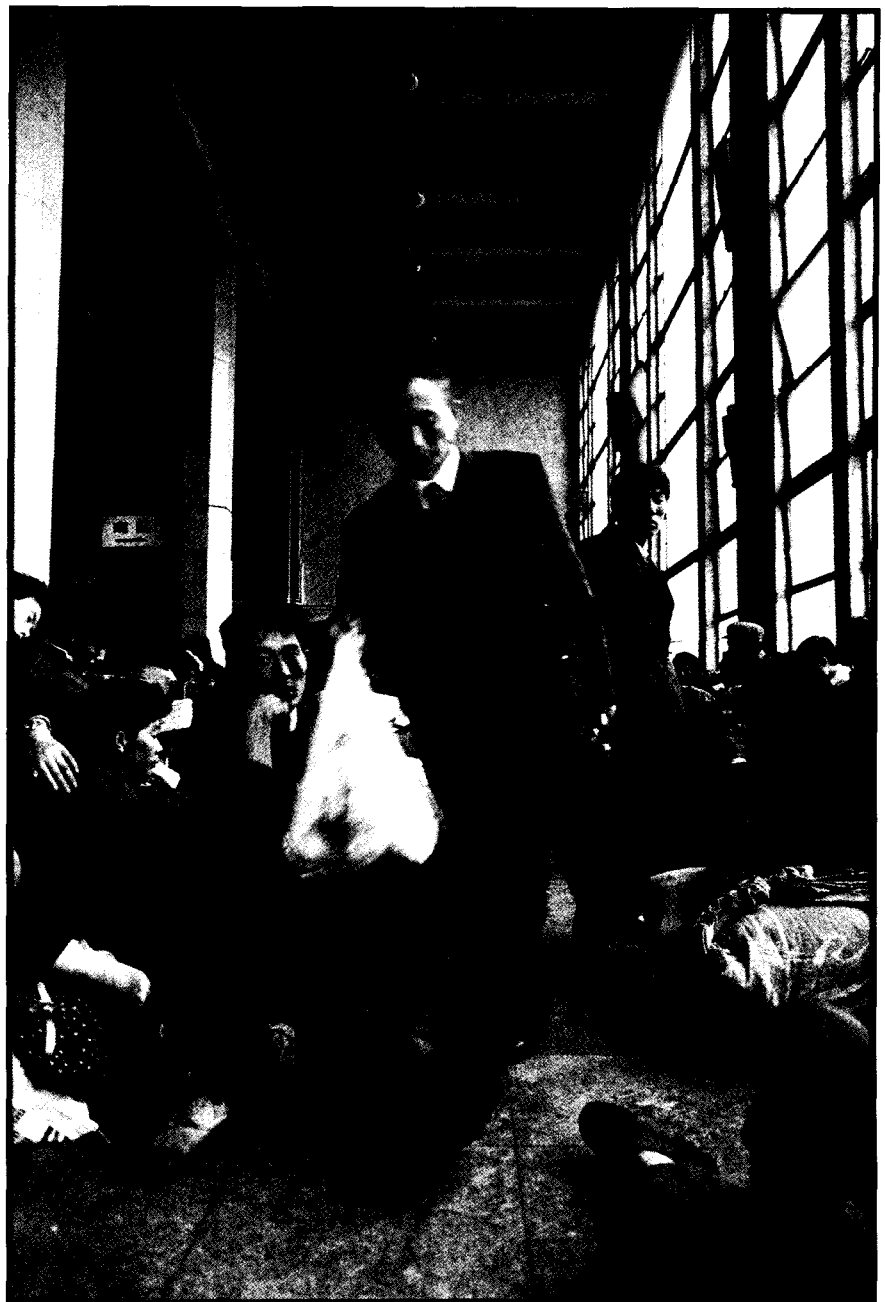
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

AMALDO3C

can it afford the fruit and the perils of democracy. The argument, which presumes that as prosperity rises the prospect of democracy expands, has been proved correct by what has happened in other East Asian nations. In the long run, as China's newly emerged middle class gains strength, it will demand more political power. When that happens, there will be a new enthusiasm for democracy.

A wealthy Beijing businessman passes rural workers on his way to catch a train

HOWEVER, the sybaritic ethos does not mean that there are no signs of political liberalization in China. The power of the National People's Congress—China's legislature—has increased significantly since the 1980s. The People's Congress was a rubber stamp in the Mao era, but its role expanded considerably when Peng Zhen, a former Beijing mayor and one of China's "Eight Elders," became its chairman, in 1983. Because government officials at all levels now have institutionalized nomination and tenure, the legislature has more say in decision-making. Official appointments at the local level must now be approved by a majority vote of the local people's congresses, giving rise to confrontations between the legislatures and the local government bureaucracies. In many cases local people's congresses vote down candidates nominated by the government. In my home town last year the nominee for director of the municipal energy bureau was rejected three times by the city's people's congress, because of his lack of professional training. The legislature and the municipal government were locked in a struggle for almost six months; finally the government changed its candidate. Since 1984 a dozen faculty members from Nanjing University have been elected to the local people's congress. Nostalgic for the days when the government was relatively incorrupt, these representatives are the most vocal critics of the tainted local Party bosses and the scandal-ridden government bureaucracy. They also care about issues that are linked with daily life, such as food prices, environmental protection, and traffic problems. Thus the people's congresses, at least those at the grassroots level, serve as a channel for ordinary Chinese to express their concerns.



WHEREAS enthusiasm for democracy has ebbed in China, corruption is flowing throughout the land. Financial scandals, which are widespread, highlight the chaos in Chinese society. Official statistics indicate that 30 percent of state enterprises, 60 percent of joint ventures, 80 percent of private businesses, and almost all shop owners regularly cheat on their taxes. Bank officials have embezzled billions of dollars in state funds and then fled overseas. It is an open secret that many government officials have deposits in foreign banks and own property abroad. It was widely rumored that not long ago a top-ranking Chinese official bought, through a relative, a mul-

timillion-dollar mansion in Beverly Hills—an impressive house even by Hollywood standards.

The proportion of Party members involved in bribery and embezzlement has reached levels that were inconceivable in the days when revolutionaries dominated the Communist Party. The government journal *Fortnight Chat* last July revealed that during the first three months of last year the number of cases of bribery and embezzlement involving more than a million yuan (at the time, about \$175,000) had doubled from the previous year, with one Party member embezzling more than \$6 million. Almost certainly with the assistance of Party cadres at the highest

level, Shen Taifu, the general manager of the Great Wall Company, stole about \$200 million from state funds and individual investors within five months. Rumor has it that members of Premier Li Peng's family were involved in the scandal.

The widespread corruption in China reflects a deep social, political, and psychological crisis in the nation. The gunshots at Tiananmen Square marked the end of the revolutionary phase of the Communist movement. Chinese leaders now openly acknowledge that the Party has changed from a "proletarian vanguard" into a ruling body. As a result the Party rank and file feel that they are no longer restrained by orthodox ethics. Many see the economic pluralism as providing them with an opportunity to loot. A fear that economic reform may falter at any time and a lack of confidence that the society will remain stable over the long term further impel the rush to get rich quick. Mao's slogan "Serve the people" has been thrown away, and the new motto for Party cadres is "Make the best use of power you can while still in office."

Recently the Chinese government has inaugurated a new anti-corruption campaign, but few people believe that this round will be any different from earlier ones. "This is the fifteenth time I've seen the government launch such a campaign since 1980," an old friend of mine told me cynically. "What they do is shoot a few small fliers [petty officials] but let the big tigers [senior cadres] run away." Others believe that since corruption is rampant and exists at every level of society, a complete cleanup is impossible—it would cause turmoil and upset the government's weak control over the pace and direction of economic growth. "The Party leaders simply cannot afford to have a real crack-down," a college professor remarked to me, "because it is too costly. They can stay in power only if China has enough stability to guarantee economic progress."

There is some truth in these comments. Indeed, corruption has become an integral part of daily life in China. Graft and the loosening of controls allow the entrepreneurial spirit of those with ability to flourish. Moonlighting often brings people more income than their official pay. With their extra money ordinary Chinese can now display their personalities and reclaim their private lives. Perhaps this is

VISTAFJORD'S EUROPE

THE OLD WORLD



HAS NEVER BEEN MORE CIVILIZED.



Looking for the most spectacular accommodations in all of Europe? Savor white-glove service and impeccable facilities as only the Five Plus Star Vistafjord can bring you. Set sail for 6 to 21 day cruises from April through November. Explore the richness of Southern and Northern Europe including Greenland and the Red Sea. For reservations call your travel agent. Or for a free brochure call Cunard at 1-800-221-8200. And see the Old World in a whole new way.

Fares reflect early booking savings (4 months prior to sailing) and range from \$1,864 to \$13,337 and are per person, double occupancy, subject to availability and dependent on departure date. Port and handling charges are \$100 to \$160 per person extra dependent on departure date. Free roundtrip economy air from 78 U.S. cities. Vistafjord is registered in the Bahamas. © 1994 Cunard.

CUNARD

99D

S T. B A R T S

DISCOVER THE NEW CHRISTOPHER HOTEL

Perched on Pointe Milou overlooking Lorient Bay is a new elegant resort hotel. Discover how accessible St. Barts can be at Sofitel's colonial-style Christopher Hotel, open in December 1992.

Sofitel Hotels believe vacations are a time of discovery. A privileged time to relax in the sun and find

yourself again. A time also to explore and discover island traditions and culture. From finely-tuned sightseeing itineraries to learning local crafts and cuisines, let us be your guide.

Chart a new point of view. Call your travel agent, or call direct: 800-471-9090.



Hotel Sofitel
RESORTS

why public outrage over corruption is not so strong as abroad I had heard it was. There is even a rather tolerant attitude toward graft, especially among the professionals who have benefited from the market economy. In their eyes, corruption is inevitable in the transition from totalitarianism to authoritarianism. "Corruption is a price that China has to pay for the changes from a centrally planned economy to a market system—it is the grease that can lubricate the political machine in a changing society," an economics professor in Nanjing preaches to his students. A popular ballad sums up the situation nicely: "Of the 1.2 billion [people], one billion are corrupted. We join forces to cheat the Party and government." A close friend of mine said, "As long as it brings along changes and prosperity, it is tolerable. In any case, I'd rather live in a corrupted but free and prosperous society than a purified but stifling and stagnant land."

Of course, not everyone would agree with his view. For those without skills or authority, it is infuriating to live in such a corrupt society. One of my relatives, a retired worker, had an operation last spring. Although she was fully covered by the state medical insurance, she had to pay bribes to virtually everyone involved in her treatment, from the surgeon to the cleaning woman. The bribes amounted to twice her monthly pension. Tourists in China often become victims of minor graft. For example, I was overcharged many times in restaurants, hotels,

and shops. Even in my home town I was cheated by a taxi driver, who almost beat me up when I pointed out his dishonesty. The Chinese revolution of the fifties and sixties succeeded in breaking up the old agglomerations of power and wealth, and achieved a new way of distributing wealth—a social leveling—in a nation that historically had huge disparities between rich and poor. Until Deng Xiaoping's push for economic reform in late 1978, Chinese society was relatively egalitarian, although this goal was met at the cost of intellectual freedom, individual aspiration, and economic growth. With prosperity, however, problems familiar from Chinese history have reappeared, old ways of viewing power and wealth are common once again, and traditional disparities are returning. Corruption and the widening income gap also spotlight a rising problem in Chinese society: rural poverty.

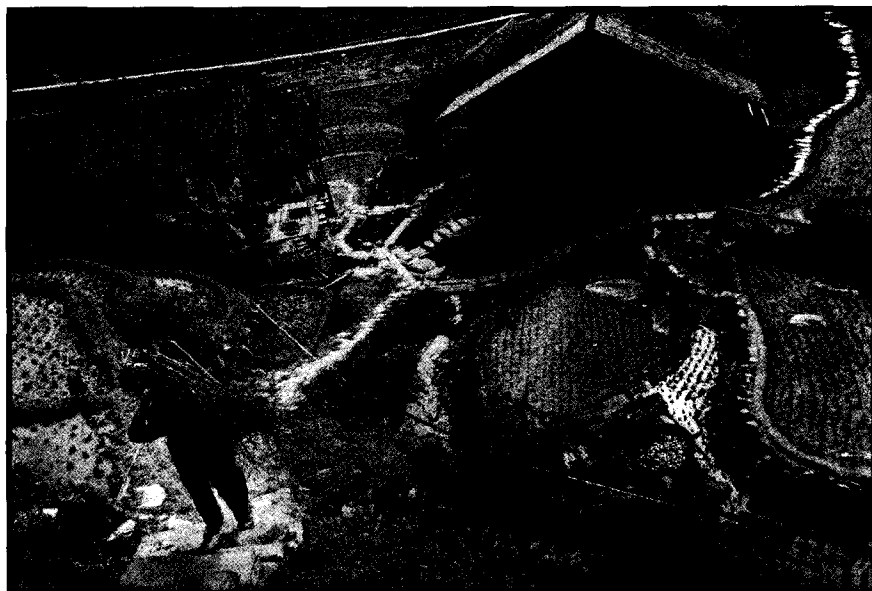
WHILE personal income levels are rising rapidly in cities, the countryside, where 80 percent of China's population lives, is falling behind. A recent study of living standards in Shenzhen, Guangzhou, and Shanghai reports that the average annual income in the three cities has reached \$1,200. But in Guizhou, a remote southwestern province, villagers earn only about \$40 a year. Nationwide the average annual income of peasants is about \$135.

I was struck by the gulf between the prosperity of urban centers and the poverty of rural areas when I took a bus along a winding dirt road to Xiao county,

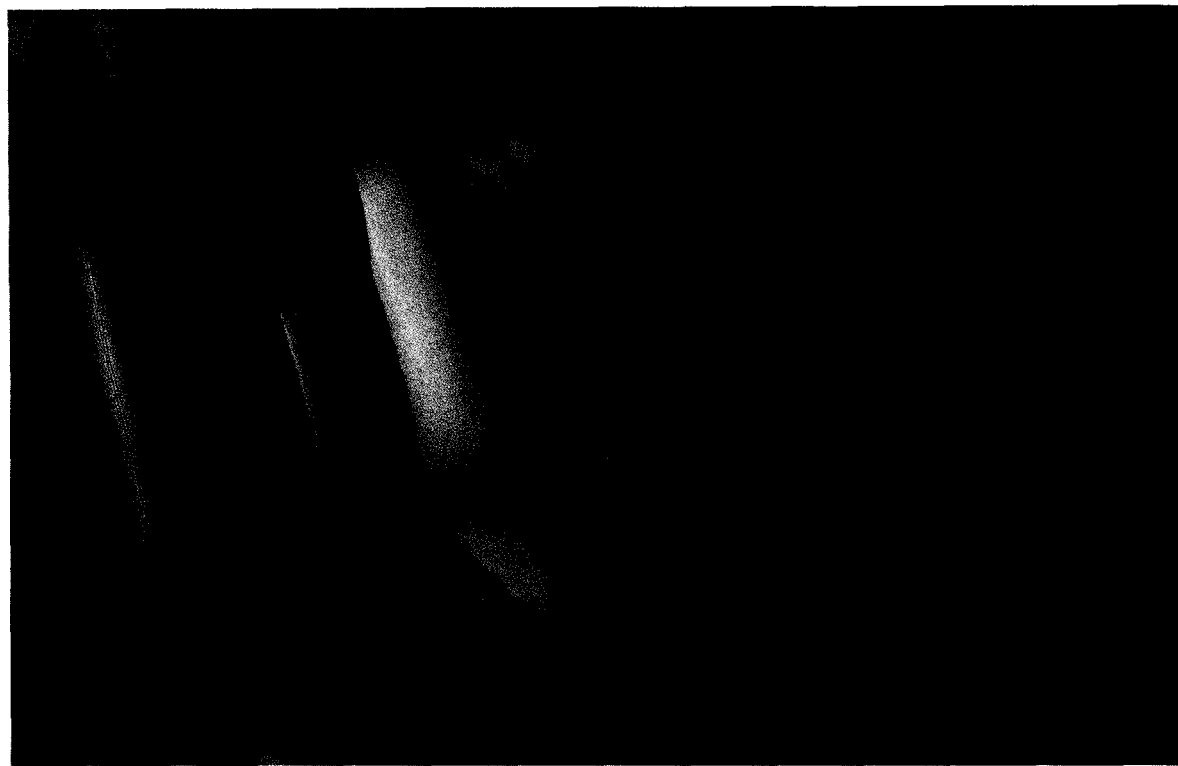
in North Anhui Plain. If coastal cities reflected China's stirring and optimistic mood, what I saw in North Anhui was just the opposite. What is the cause of rural poverty? Some villagers blame the corruption of local officials. But government officials in the major cities are just as greedy as those in the villages—perhaps more so, since the spoils are greater. The real problem is that the government has failed to raise the prices of farm products to keep up with those of manufactured goods. In the first half of 1993 the prices of fertilizer, fuel, and other farming necessities rose nearly twice as fast as those of farm commodities. Now the more grain a peasant produces, the less profit he makes. Villagers in coastal areas usually develop their land for fruits, vegetables, and other cash crops that cater to urban needs. They also make money in township mills, property speculation, and service industries. As a result, more than half of their annual income comes from nonagricultural sources. But peasants in inland areas are denied such advantages. Investment rarely comes in, because the lack of highways and railroads makes it difficult to transport goods produced inland to the great metropolises or to overseas markets. The various barriers will take years to remove, but they all contribute to the peasants' poverty and deepen the gulf between bustling urban China and depressed rural China.

To be sure, rural poverty is an old problem. But peasants now feel a more intense agony because they know that city life in coastal areas has improved, and they want to live better too. Grievances and jealousy are producing hatred, and the resentment felt by the have-nots can be striking. In August an explosion and a big fire occurred in Shenzhen, China's special economic zone across from Hong Kong. More than a dozen people were killed, and hundreds were wounded. "It served them right," I heard a migrant peasant worker from Henan say bitterly in a small restaurant near Shanghai. "These bastards have made too much money by exploiting us."

A more subtle manifestation of rural grievance is that many villagers now hang Mao's picture in their houses. When I asked if they really missed the Great Leader, an old



A peasant in Guanxi province, in a region remote from China's new wealth



We Put Our Passengers In The Driver's Seat.

Most luxury cars give the driver a sophisticated seat that adjusts to the body for maximum comfort and support. Passenger comfort, however, tends to take a back seat.

Not so in the Lexus LS 400.

Its front passenger's seat is built around the form of the human body, just like the driver's seat. It has five motors to adjust ten different ways, just like the driver's seat. It even offers adjustable lumbar support, just

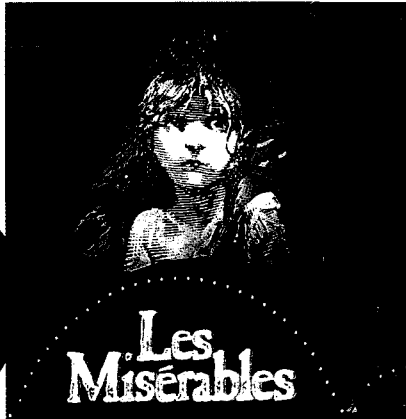
like the driver's seat. In fact, the front passenger's seat of the LS 400 is – you guessed it – just like the driver's seat. Except that it's on the right-hand side of the car.

To accommodate your friends more, you'd have to give them the wheel. But you don't want them to have all the fun, do you?



The Relentless Pursuit Of Perfection.

You'll find the most enter



You'll have no trouble being understood in London. No trouble making friends, either.

From the waif in Les Mis to Lady Macbeth, theatrical London puts on a show for every taste.

One of London's more familiar faces is that of Big Ben, still sounding the hours high over the Houses of Parliament.

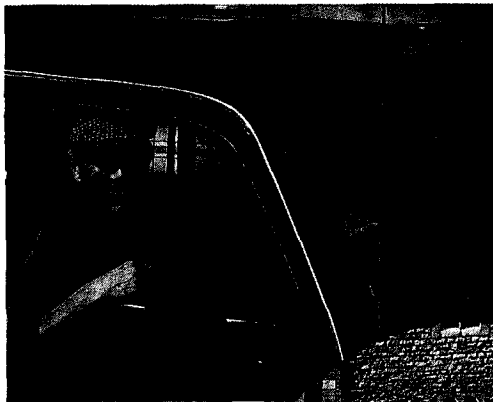


Discover bargains in the Portobello Road market. Also jugglers, rockers, and some pretty experienced hagglers.



Meet London's other royalty: the Pearly Kings and Queens, who reign over the fall festival scene.

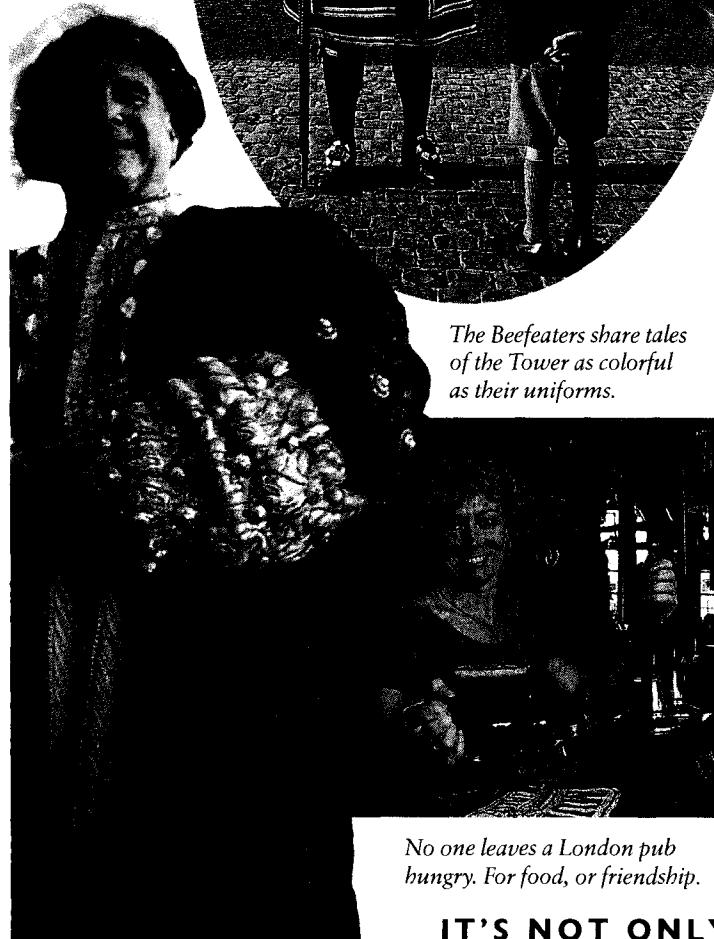
Entertaining people in London.



London's cabbies know London inside and out. And love to show it off.



The Beefeaters share tales of the Tower as colorful as their uniforms.



No one leaves a London pub hungry. For food, or friendship.

Not all Londoners are involved in the performing arts, but you're bound to find all kinds of Londoners entertaining. From Beefeaters in bright colors to judges in wigs to children in school uniforms, people here are open and friendly, eager to share a story or a smile.

Londoners pride themselves on being more than welcoming, giving a little extra of themselves to make your visit special. A simple ride in a taxi becomes a guided tour. A quick bite in a pub feels like family. A mere stroll becomes an adventure as you meet flower vendors, jugglers, and street musicians.

Add all this to the many theatres, museums, orchestras, restaurants and shops here, and you'll find London a very entertaining place indeed. And, right now, a very reasonably priced place for a vacation.

Now enjoy 6 nights in London for only \$699-\$1629* including airfare.

This spring, British Airways and some of London's leading hotels are offering great values in all price ranges. And making this the most entertaining season in London one of its most economical too.

These special rates include round-trip airfare, hotel room with private bath for 6 nights (shorter stays also available), Continental breakfasts daily, round-trip airport transportation, 7-day London Regional Transport "Visitor Travelcard" for unlimited transportation on London's "red buses" and Underground, a deluxe theatre ticket, and a traditional pub lunch.

So call your travel agent today. And get ready to come to London. Where you're sure to find some very entertaining people indeed.

BRITISH AIRWAYS

The world's favourite airline*

*Rates are per person, double occupancy, and vary by hotel selection, departure date and city. Prices are good for travel completed by 7/1/94. \$659 price available in March. Prices subject to change. Prices do not include \$19.95 U.S. Agricultural, Customs and Immigration Fees and International Departure Tax, and up to \$12 in passenger facilities charges. Call British Airways or your travel agent for complete terms and conditions.

For your free guide and British Airways hotel package information, call 1-800-937-6393 or send to: British Tourist Authority, P.O. Box 458, Cranbury, NJ 08512.

Name _____ LT83

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Tel. () _____



IT'S NOT ONLY LONDONERS WHO LOVE LONDON

woman hesitated and then said, "No one likes the old days." She quickly added in a louder voice, "But under his leadership at least we all lived the same kind of life. Chairman Mao put the interests of us villagers first. Now the leaders have forgotten us. We are no longer treated the same way as the town folks." At one time the Party was led by men who had all been born in rural families and had lived many years among villagers—and Mao did make peasants the centerpiece of his Marxist plan for revolution. The leaders of the current regime, however, have no roots in the countryside. As an educated and technocratic elite, they show neither concern for nor understanding of the grievances of peasants.

Surprisingly, I found growing prejudice among urban residents against peasants. A Shanghai taxi driver insisted that migrant peasant workers were all potential "criminals." In my home town peasant beggars from Anhui slept right on the sidewalks, but no one paid any attention to them. When I mentioned this to my friends, they shrugged and replied, "So what?" Some of them even argued that peasants in inland areas live in poverty because they waste money and because the lack of efficiency there turns diligent workers into layabouts.

The peasants are equally prejudiced against city people, especially the educated elite. To some extent their distrust is understandable. Throughout the brief history of the People's Republic, villagers have often suffered from the enthusiasm of urban intellectuals who used rural China for "grand experiments," betrayed its interests, disregarded its traditions, and treated peasants like stepping-stones toward more-ambitious goals. Under the nonsensical order of the Party cadres rice was planted in the cold, dry north and wheat was planted in the humid, warm south. The results were disastrous. In fact, it was the overweening confidence of urban intellectuals in their own particular abstractions that inflicted an enormous economic disaster on rural China during the Great Leap Forward at the end of the 1950s, resulting in the deaths of millions of peasants. Resentment still runs deep today.

The rural grievance has become more

*As a school
duty, children
in a remote
province per-
form a day of
physical labor*



complicated as it mingles with the growing sentiment of the interior regions. During the past few years China's inland provinces saw the economic boom and the development clearly bypass them. As a petty cadre from Gansu, a poor northwestern province, complained to me, "You know, the relationship between us inlanders and you guys on the coast is just like that between underdeveloped countries and industrial nations. We supply you with raw materials and cheap migrant labor, but you turn around and sell us secondhand products at high prices. The gap bleeds us inland people of capital and resources. You robbed us of everything, from money to women!"

Such complaints are most alarming. Mixed with the rising tide of regionalism, rural grievances can be explosive. Rumors of peasant riots circulate widely. Indeed, the government confirmed that last June about 10,000 peasants rioted against the authorities in Renshou county, in Sichuan province. Rebellions have broken out in poverty-stricken inland regions throughout modern Chinese history, from the Taiping Rebellion to the Communist movement in Yan'an. Unrest in the remote countryside shook the foundations of the empire and brought down the old regime.

Themselves once organizers of the peasant revolution, old Party leaders are aware of the volatility of rural grievances. Wan Li, a former chairman of the National People's Congress and a close friend of China's paramount leader Deng, warned recently that if poverty persists

among the peasants, another Chen Sheng-Wu Guang Rebellion will break out. He was referring to a famous peasant rebellion that took place some 200 years before the birth of Jesus. The rebellion triggered a series of civil wars and thus caused the collapse of the mighty Qin dynasty, founded by China's first Emperor, Qin Shihuang. Since historians often compare the Communist regime to the Qin dynasty and Mao to the whirlwind dictator Qin Shihuang, the parallel between rural unrest today and the peasant rebellion then presents an ominous lesson for the current regime.

The Party has taken action to soothe the peasants' wrath. Last summer it issued orders to reduce the taxes and fees levied on peasants. But there is no clear sign so far that these widely publicized policies differ from previous propaganda. Much depends on how determined the current regime is to solve rural problems and whether any real improvement occurs in the countryside. Unless the boom extends inland, China's long-term political stability and economic development will remain in doubt.

Despite the gloomy scene in the countryside, I made an encouraging discovery that is worth mentioning. The imbalance in the ratio of male to female babies in rural areas may not be as serious as people abroad have heard. Statistics show that China's sex imbalance at birth reached 114 males to 100 females in 1992. Most demographers believe that the disparity is caused by the ancient practice of female infanticide. But this

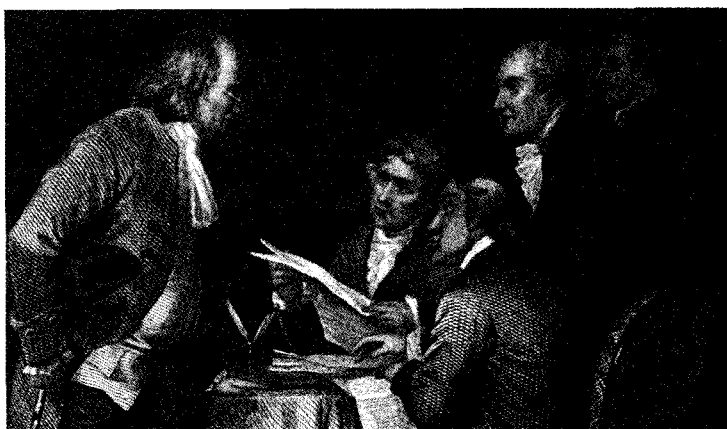
does not seem to be the case. Stepped-up prosecution of infant killers and severe punishment have helped to curtail the practice. The disparity may, rather, have been caused by the underreporting of female births in villages. Chinese law requires the registration of births with local family-planning programs. To get around strict child quotas, villagers often fail to register the births of their daughters. They ship the girls off to be raised by relatives until a son is born. In a village near Baoying, in northern Jiangsu, I found seven such "ghost children." Their presence would have been unthinkable in the past, because the government controlled food distribution. But villagers now have their own land, so their livelihoods no longer depend on the state and they can afford to have more children.

WHAT will happen after the eighty-nine-year-old Deng Xiaoping, China's de facto Emperor, dies? It is rumored that he is battling prostate cancer and suffering from Parkinson's disease. A widely circulated political joke says that now the most powerful person in China is not Deng but his daughter, because it is she who decides what her father is to know and to say.

How China after Deng's death can combine a capitalist economy with its legacy of communism is anybody's guess. Most Chinese agree that the economic reforms may continue and outlast Deng's political system. There is a great risk of chaos in the prospect, however, as indicated by a rising tide of regionalism, the widening gap between rich and poor, and the mutual distrust between the cities and the countryside. People wait in uneasy anticipation. The looming future may hold continued economic prosperity along with political freedom, but it may also hold an eruption of upheavals and disunity like that after the collapse of the Manchu Empire, in 1911. In any case, China's prospects are extremely uncertain.

When I asked about China's future at a party with my friends, no one answered. Obviously they didn't want to be bothered by such a question, at least not during our happy celebration. "Great disorder leads to great order," a historian finally said, murmuring a slogan of Mao's from the Cultural Revolution. After a long pause he added drily, "Let's hope for the best but prepare for the worst." ☛

Franklin Tax-Free Income Funds



**Tax-Free Investing Makes
More Sense Than Ever.**

Are you sure your income taxes haven't been increased under the nation's Revenue Reconciliation Act? There is no question that you are being taxed in many other ways: property taxes, sales taxes, use taxes — to name a few. At least you can protect your investment income from income taxes with Franklin's tax-free funds.

Franklin offers:

- A selection of 40 tax-free funds.
- Funds that pay dividends exempt from federal and, in many cases, state personal income taxes.[†]

Call your investment representative or Franklin today.

[†]Investors subject to federal or state alternative minimum tax may find all or a portion of their income distributions subject to such tax. Capital gains and ordinary income distributions, if any, are generally taxable. Franklin/Templeton Distributors, Inc.

**Call 1-800-
342-FUND
Ext. F545**

FRANKLIN FUNDS

777 Mariners Island Boulevard
San Mateo, CA 94404-IS85

Yes! I would like a free prospectus containing more complete information on a Franklin tax-free fund, including charges and expenses. I will read it carefully before I invest or send money.

☐ I am currently a Franklin shareholder.

Name

Address

City

State/Zip

Daytime Phone

AM094
F545



A Member of the \$109 Billion Franklin/Templeton Group



The Pull of Puglia

*The heel of Italy's boot is like a
country unto itself*

I'VE long taken what friends call an unwholesome attitude toward travel: whenever I get off a flight of more than a couple of hours and the airport isn't in Milan or Rome, I think, "I could have gone to Italy." I'm in danger of further restricting myself to one Italian destination only—Puglia ("Apulia" in

English), the region occupying the heel of the boot. In the past eight years I've had the good fortune to visit Puglia half a dozen times. Each time, I leave with a long list of places I didn't get to see, and a yearning to revisit the places I did.

Puglia has the strong, peculiar charac-

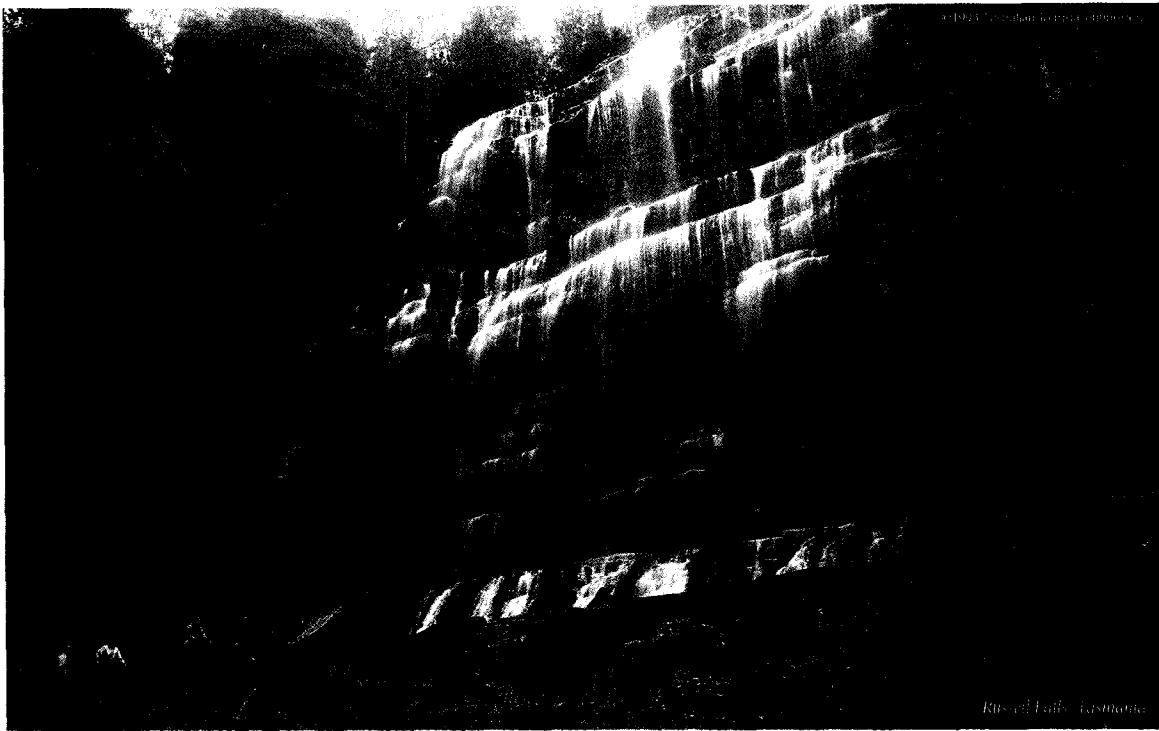
ter that people associate with Sicily, and has it for many of the same reasons. Both seem like countries separate from Italy, because of their frequent domination by other cultures, particularly the Greek, Norman, Swabian, and Spanish. But Puglia is much more a part of the modern world than Sicily. Its agricultural pui-sance, long based on wheat, survives in olives: the region produces far more olive oil than any other in Italy, much of which is blended and bottled by producers in Tuscany. Light industry has brought both prosperity and pollution to the ports of Bari and Brindisi—places tourists know, if they know them at all, as stopovers on the way to ferries bound for Greece, and cities I usually avoid.

And like Sicily, which has Noto, a virtually intact miniature Baroque city, Puglia has Lecce, a bigger and even more stunning center of a wildly exuberant form of Baroque architecture that existed

A field of olive trees in spring



Dampier · Darwin · Derby · Devonport · Dubbo · Fremantle · Geraldton · Gladstone · Goondiwindi · Gympie · Ipswich · Jabiru · Kalgoorlie · Kambalda · Katherine · Katoomba



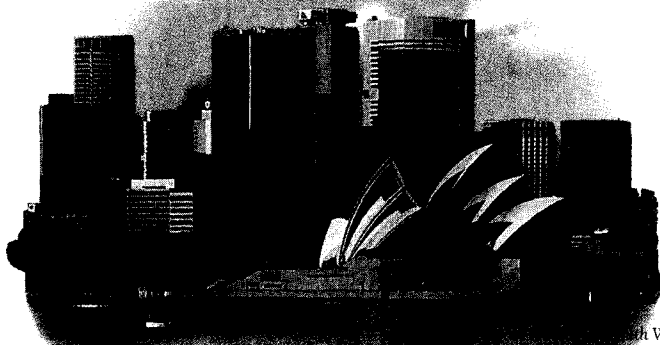
The only place in the world where a day trip will take you back 3 billion years.

Wade through an ancient mountain pool in the morning.
Listen to the cry of a cockatoo rip through the velvet stillness of the
afternoon. And recall our ageless rain forest trees in the evening over
a glass of fine Australian
wine. Where else can you
drink in 3 billion years in
a single day?



Qantas participates in the
American Airlines® AAdvantage®
program, Alaska Airlines Mileage
Plan and Canadian Plus.

We have the most flights from
North America into Sydney and
throughout Australia.



The wombat doesn't look like
the koala's cousin but maybe you can feel
the resemblance.

QANTAS
THE AUSTRALIAN AIRLINE

AUSTRALIA
FEEL THE WONDER

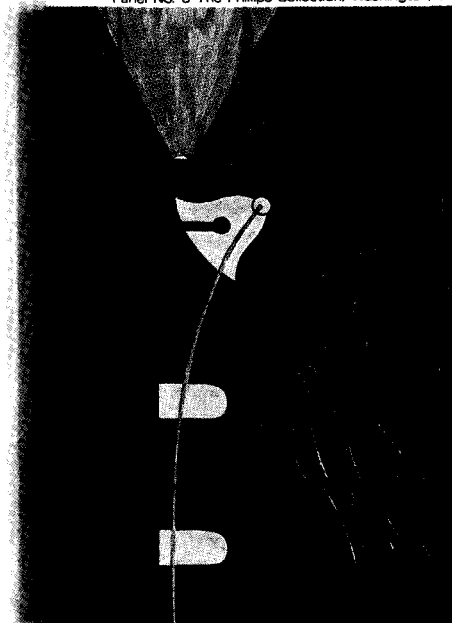
For your free, 136-page travel planner call
1-800-444-1281 ext. 04

Perth · Port Macquarie · Queanbeyan · Queenstown · Quilpie · Shellharbour · Sydney · Taree · Toowoomba · Wagga Wagga · Wangaratta · Warnambool · Warwick · Weipa

American Airlines and AAdvantage are registered trademarks of American Airlines, Inc. American Airlines, Alaska Airlines and Canadian Airlines reserve the right to change their travel awards programs at any time without notice.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

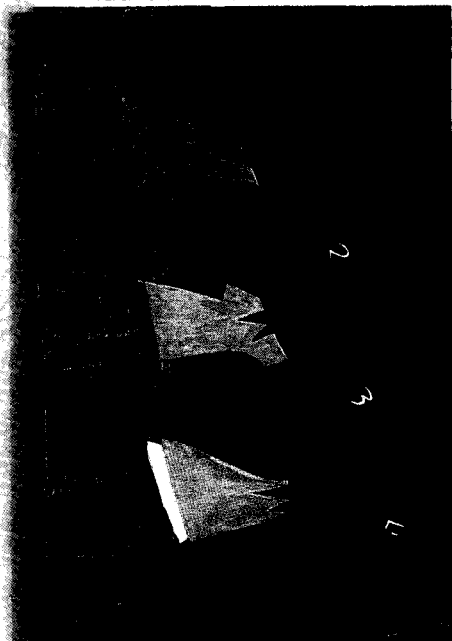
Panel No. 5 The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.



Panel No. 23 The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.



Panel No. 58 The Museum of Modern Art, New York



JACOB LAWRENCE:

THE MIGRATION SERIES



All aboard for the journey of a lifetime. 60 panels, painted sequentially with accompanying text, weaving their way through history. Seen only twice in its entirety since 1942, this series paints the picture and tells the story of the African American migration experience from the South to the North. Jacob Lawrence conducts this emotional venture by exploring the subjects of segregation, empowerment, justice, freedom, education, voting and the triumph of hope over adversity. Considered his most ambitious and important work, "The Migration Series" is a non-stop trip transcending time and place that forever moves its passengers.

The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., September 23, 1993-January 9, 1994

Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, WI, January 28-March 20, 1994

Portland Art Museum, Portland, OR, April 19-June 12, 1994

Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, AL, July 10-September 4, 1994

The St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, MO, September 30-November 27, 1994

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 12-April 11, 1995

High Museum of Art, Atlanta, GA, April 25-June 27, 1995

The Denver Art Museum, Denver, CO, Summer 1995

Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, IL, Fall 1995



PHILIP MORRIS COMPANIES INC.

Kraft General Foods

Miller Brewing Company

Philip Morris International Inc.

Philip Morris U.S.A.

Supporting the spirit of innovation.

nowhere else. Lecce is often called the Florence of the south, but it has none of the severity and perfection of Florence. Instead it looks as if the excesses of Spanish Baroque had been tamed by Italian good taste and aerated with whimsical and sometimes bizarre touches.

In just a few decades at the end of the 1600s almost every church and public building in Lecce was Baroque-ified by a group of architects, chief among them Gabriele Riccardi and the brothers Giuseppe and Francesco Antonio Zimbalo. They went on a kind of rampage, covering old buildings and designing new ones. No column was worth designing unless it was a spiral covered with twist-

fertility of the citrus and olive groves, Spanish Catholicism, and the golden local stone, a calcareous limestone so soft that it practically melts at the touch of a chisel and can be turned on a lathe.

I think of Lecce as the Venice of the south, because when you pass through its gates you enter a world like no other. To my mind, Lecce is every bit as splendid and sensual as Venice, missing only water and canvases. And you can have it practically to yourself. Since I first started visiting Lecce, the profuse detail has been cleaned and restored so that the principal churches are immaculate. This has removed some of the crumbling decay that lent much to the city's evocative

rooms. Architects have for decades routinely made pilgrimages to see the fantastical structures. The roofs were built mortarless, one story goes, so that they could be knocked down when the feudal lord's tax collector visited, as only buildings with fixed roofs were taxable. (The real reason is uncertain.) The Munchkinland *trulli* are the only sight in Puglia I find I don't need to see again. I hunger, though, for the area's landscape of long plains of olive groves on beds of deep blue-green grass, neatly divided by low, carefully maintained walls built of the same limestone as the roofs.

WHAT I really hunger for is to return to my favorite hotel in the world, a converted agricultural estate, or *masseria*, just a few miles from the heart of the *trulli* zone and a fifty-minute drive from either the Bari or the Brindisi airport (ATI, a commuter subsidiary of Alitalia, has convenient service from Rome to both). I've been lucky enough to stay in many luxury hotels, even if just for a night. They are all very nice, and I'm plenty grateful. But often a pompous attitude isn't accompanied by the real goods: big bathrooms, lots of towels, new and comfortable beds with linen sheets, phones and TVs that are easy to work, privacy. Or the physical setting is somehow lacking. Or you feel you have to be dressed up to walk out the door, and you wonder why you're paying a fortune to be excessively polite.

Everything about Il Melograno is just right, including its location, less than an hour from Lecce and from just about everything else worth seeing in Puglia, and its rates, which are lower (an average of \$250 a night) than those of most hotels of the same rank. The hotel consists of the original farm buildings and the manor house, all of whitewashed stucco, which were converted to a hotel in 1987, and twenty-seven more rooms that were added three years later; all the rooms are decorated with restored (or copied) eighteenth- and nineteenth-century furniture. You're never far from orange and pomegranate and mulberry trees; many of the ten original rooms line a small orange grove, near a generous-sized pool. The hotel has a private beach a ten-minute drive away (they ferry you or you drive; a car is a necessity for touring Puglia, and I've found consistently good rates from Agenzia Italia



ing vines, no festoon worth carving unless it included pomegranates, lemons, oranges, grapes, flowers, birds, a lamb, and a saint's head or two (the most celebrated façade, which features all these in abundance, is that of the church of Santa Croce). As if following an invisible bouncing ball, putti cavort in and around the letters of the inscriptions on the friezes of the church of Sant' Angelo; convex façades dance in and out with concave balconies on the church of San Matteo; huge pyramidal baskets of fruit, crazily out of scale, punctuate the façade of the church of the Rosario. The riotous, unending decoration seems to emanate from an imagination intoxicated by the

appeal. The old appeal lives on in the back streets, built mostly in the early nineteenth century in a neoclassical style but of the same buttery stone. The calm horizontal lines here complement the boisterous façades of the churches. At sundown wrought-iron lanterns flicker alight, illuminating the flowered arches and wrought-iron balconies and sinuous life-size caryatids that appear somewhere on nearly every one of the low buildings.

If tourists have heard of Puglia, it's usually not for Lecce but for the *trulli*, whitewashed round houses with conical roofs that are built of limestone blocks without mortar. In an olive-choked area around Alberobello, about an hour's drive south of Bari, the houses appear in clusters like so many whitewashed mush-

Above, cascading trulli roofs

Travel, at 800-648-2484). The rooms where guests take their meals were built to curve around huge olive trees, some said to be a thousand years old.

The food is always good. At breakfast you get homemade orange marmalade and quince jam with freshly baked pastry-cream-filled croissants. In summer another breakfast item is split *taralli*—baked breadstick rings perfumed with olive oil and often with fennel seeds or flecks of hot red pepper—topped with diced, intensely flavored tomatoes and basil. Dinner can begin with the classic pasta dish *orecchiette*, “little ears” hollowed out with the thumb (Il Melograno finds local people to make the pasta, whereas most places serve machine-made *orecchiette* now), with broccoli rabe, garlic, anchovies, hot pepper, and olive oil. Or you can start with *fave e cicorie*, a puree of fava beans that is everything mashed potatoes wish they could be, mixed with plenty of local olive oil and bitter wild chicory, *cicorielle*, which costs as much as prime beef (and tastes much better).

The real reason I love Il Melograno, though, is the family that runs it. Camillo Guerra, the paterfamilias, was once the head of the regional antique dealers’ association, and his fastidious taste informs the interiors and the grounds. His two daughters, Roberta and Simona, are both beautiful, golden-haired, and learned—Roberta is taking an advanced degree in English, and can probably tell you a good deal you didn’t know about English Romantic literature—and one of them is always there to solve problems, often with the help of their spirited aunt Rosa. Their mother, long a teacher of English in Bari, looks in nightly (the family divides its time between Bari and the hotel). If you want directions to a rustic restaurant that serves terrific pizza and rabbit (Santuddi); a bag of homemade *orecchiette*; a ride three miles down the road to the spruce, busy port of Monópoli and advice from Zia Rosa on which stall at the weekly market has the best designer-shoe samples; recommendations on where to buy local handicrafts or antiques (Camillo Guerra still shows a few pieces of furniture in a small gallery); help with your rental car and air tickets; or even directions to a cheap, charming *masseria*, part of the national Agritourist program, which offers simple rooms and a chance to watch olive-tending and sheep-raising firsthand, they’ll see to it.

We promise you a great time in Ireland. You can even have it in writing.



Besides a beautiful place to visit and a great value, we're also offering a little reading material. Send for your free vacation planners and arrange a trip to Ireland. With great airfares and vacation packages, you're bound to love it. You have our word on it.

Mail in the coupon to Ireland Vacations '94, P.O. Box 7728, Woodside, N.Y. 11377 or call 1-800-SHAMROCK, ext. 41.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

IRELAND

THE ANCIENT BIRTHPLACE OF GOOD TIMES.

classical innovative

Foundation in the Great Books

Academic excellence

Inspiring faculty

Small school with personalized attention

Historic Greenwich Village location

Undergraduate and graduate degrees

Individualized programs of study

Intensive faculty advisement

Courses throughout major research university

Independent study with faculty

Outstanding internships in New York City

Life experience credits, rigorously evaluated

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
A PRINCETON UNIVERSITY IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CALL

gallatin
1-800-771-4NYU, EXT. 52
MONDAY-FRIDAY 9:30 A.M.-5 P.M. EST.

New York University is an affirmative action/equal opportunity institution.

ABASE at Il Melograno makes possible all kinds of interesting day trips. One could be an excursion to see what is said to be the world's primary museum of Magna Graecia. In museums I used to think that the rows of glass cases stuffed with identical Greek pots would never end, but I was transported by the pots in the museum at Taranto, a port on the Ionian Sea. The filigreed tiaras and earrings are of a virtually unequaled intricacy and loveliness, and the heads and bas reliefs are as fine as nearly anything you'll see in Greece. Along with Lecce, the Taranto museum is reason enough to travel to Puglia. When, last year, I finally made myself visit it out of cultural duty, I end-

ramiche Nicola Fasano (there are several Fasanos—look for this one), which offers reliable shipping at a reasonable price.

Many distractions lie on the path from Il Melograno to Taranto. Being both olive-crazed and interested in rural life, I was pleased last December to discover a new museum that the Amati family, longtime olive-oil producers, have handsomely mounted in an old *masseria*; it is devoted to showing how olives were pressed for oil in past centuries. A few miles toward the coast are the Greek and Roman excavations at Egnazia, with a small museum showing Roman mosaics and Gnathian ware, a kind of ceramics that was famous throughout the ancient

masserie (in more parlous times they communicated by smoke signals, bonfires, and bells), very different from the cozy little farms in the rolling *trulli* zone. Wheat fields flow for miles down to the sea in broad, treeless waves.

Most excursions should have a good restaurant as a goal, and I would design one around my favorite restaurant in Puglia, Al Fornello da Ricci, at Ceglie Messápico. Angelo Ricci masterminds the restaurant, which has rush-seated chairs, a big fireplace, and a wraparound terrace, and the superb wine list, which includes the best of Pugliese wines. His wife, Dora, commands the kitchen. Nothing is fancy and everything is good.

Dora Ricci is particularly deft with the dozens of dishes that highlight the strong flavor of Pugliese vegetables, famous all over Italy (the best bottled onions, mushrooms, artichokes, and peppers, in either oil or vinegar, come from Puglia): zucchini blossoms stuffed with ricotta; potatoes baked with tomatoes and seemingly dozens of herbs; eggplant stuffed with fresh capers, local sheep's-milk pecorino cheese, eggs, garlic, and parsley; olives, either baked with garlic and red-wine vinegar or, during the winter harvest, sautéed uncured. Her version of *fave e cicorie* is so good that I thought I didn't need to try the *frusciuddati* (handmade pasta that has been rolled around a knitting needle) in a sauce of fresh tomatoes and arugula, or the homemade potato focaccia. But I did, and I made room for the fruit and the pure sheep's-milk ricotta, delivered warm and fresh from the farm down the road.

The drive to Ceglie Messápico passes through the loveliest part of the *trulli* zone. A superb place for a late-afternoon walk on the way back from lunch is the town of Martina Franca, as aristocratic in its way as Lecce, and a sort of continuation of it, for the noble buildings pick up at the end of the Baroque period and continue into eighteenth-century Rococo. They show more grandeur and restraint than those of Lecce, perhaps because here the local stone is harder to carve and less warm in color. But the town center, a walled circle on a hill, is particularly fine, and the residents are proud of their musical and literary heritage, which continues today. The Caffè Tripoli, a bar and pastry shop still decorated in full 1930s splendor, makes very good ice cream in summer and also its own liqueurs. Too, the clothing in the



ed up changing my schedule to devote two full days to it. On both days I was the only visitor at the museum.

Taranto, unfortunately, has been ruined by postwar development and the growth of steel mills and oil refineries; it's best to enter and exit the city with dispatch. Only a fifteen-minute drive away is Grottole, famous for its ceramics even in Greek times. Today one side of town, set into a steep hillside, is densely packed with busy factories that produce ceramics glazed and unglazed, painted elaborately or rudely. These and locally produced foods are the best things to buy in Puglia. The greatest variety of tableware and garden pots of all forms, classical to Baroque, is at Ce-

world. Beside the museum is a field where in the 1200s a village moved into a network of Roman tombs.

This was one of many cave towns near the coast and inland, occupied by people fearful of the frequent leveling invasions by Saracens and barbarians. Many who lived underground were Byzantines fleeing repressive iconoclasts at home, who forbade the use of images in religious rites. The underground Byzantines left frescoes of human figures in their cave-churches, or *chiese rupestri*; little roadside signs will frequently point you toward an isolated cave. Among the best-preserved frescoes are those at the San Nicola church near Mottola, a small city on the way to Taranto. The drive there takes you through an open landscape of huge fortified

Above, façades in Martina Franca

stores is of an elegance matched only in Bari, whose residents are known for their attention to finery.

WHEN I'm in Puglia, I always make sure to visit Barletta, for two reasons. One is to dine at Ristorante Bacco, perhaps the most elegant restaurant south of Rome. I order refined versions of local dishes, and the specialty people travel from afar to eat: *burrata di Andria*, a wet globe of fresh mozzarella filled with diced mozzarella soaked in cream (the name means "buttered," but there's no butter in it). Even if you have tasted the most deeply flavored buffalo-milk mozzarella, you'll be astonished by the oozing intensity of *burrata*.

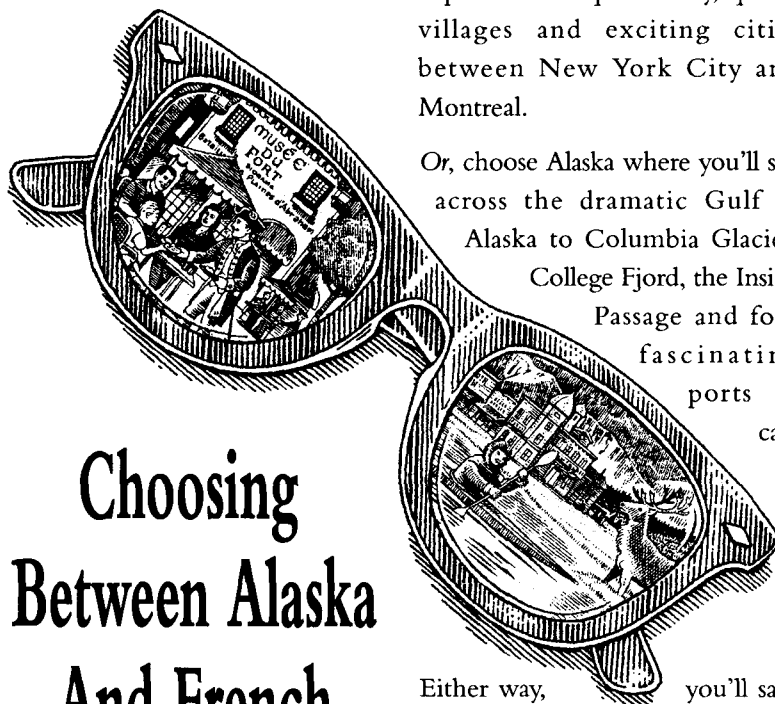
The other reason is to see the strangest sight in all Puglia, and what might be the most beautiful: the octagonal Castel del Monte, not far inland, which Frederick II built in the 1240s. This is the most striking of a series of buildings associated with Frederick, the Swabian Emperor whose achievements were such that he was called *Stupor Mundi*, or "Wonder of the World." His huge-turreted castles and Romanesque cathedrals with wondrous sculpted doorways and fantastical column capitals, all in bone-white local stone, dot a series of nearby coastal towns.

Castel del Monte's inexplicable design is based on the number eight. Its eight rooms on each of two stories are eight-sided, and eight eight-sided towers ring the castle like spikes in a crown. No one knows why it was built: it isn't fortified, it doesn't seem practical for hunting, it was too luxurious (baths with running rainwater, marble sculptures, and elaborate decoration) to be a prison. Frederick may not have spent any time there at all. The current guess is that it was meant to be used by a Pythagorean cult: some window slits are placed to align with the sun's solstices.

Now, without its original marble decorative sheathing, the castle presents a sheer face of pink stone from miles away. Whenever I catch sight of the monolith, I feel pulled inexorably toward it, up the long hill from whose summit it looms. A walk around the bare rooms does nothing to alleviate the mystery. The castle is a forty-minute drive from the Bari airport. On my last trip I visited it just before leaving—something I recommend doing. The indelible image will be your own icon for all that you discover in Puglia. ☼

REGENCY'S ALASKA & FRENCH CANADA

"Choosing To Cruise Regency This Summer Was Easy."



Choosing Between Alaska And French Canada Was The Hard Part"

Ernest & Harriet Baker
Cleveland, Ohio



The Bakers made it easy on themselves this vacation. They chose

Regency. The wonderful destinations, unique itineraries, fabulous ships with fine food and service and terrific prices were all they needed to hear.

So if that sounds good to you, choose to sail either the Northeast Passage where you'll experience unique history, quaint villages and exciting cities between New York City and Montreal.

Or, choose Alaska where you'll sail across the dramatic Gulf of Alaska to Columbia Glacier, College Fjord, the Inside Passage and four fascinating ports of call!

Either way, you'll save up to 40% guaranteed. So if you've had your eye on a 7 or 14-day cruise vacation, take it from the Bakers, take Regency! For reservations, see your travel agent. For a free brochure, call:

1-800-753-1234
ASK FOR BROCHURE B14

Ships' Registry: Bahamas

REGENCY CRUISES

CRUISING THE WAY IT WAS MEANT TO BE

THE NEW BONNEVILLE SSEi

Driver & Passenger Airbags

Anti-Lock Brakes

225-hp Supercharged V6

Computer Command Adjustable Ride*

Traction Control*

Theft-Deterrent Key System

Leather Seating Areas*

*Available Equipment



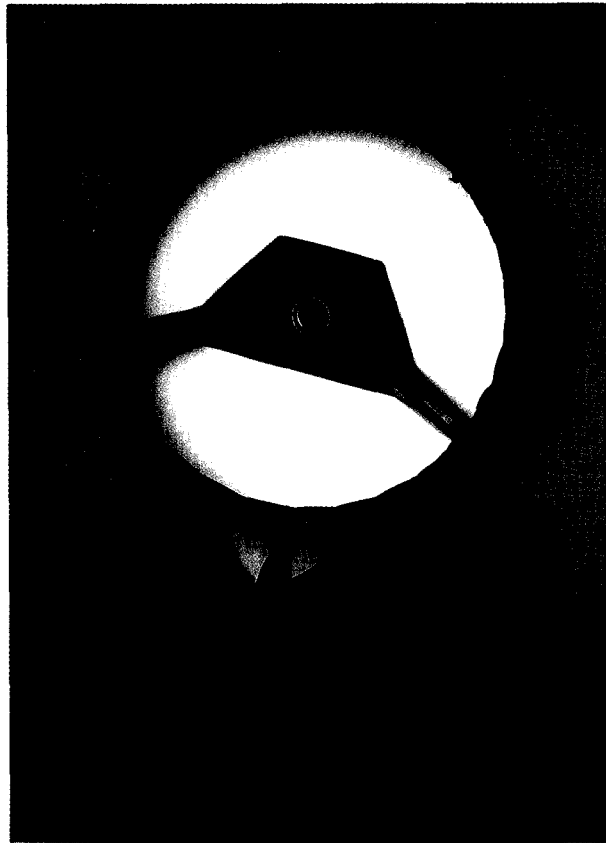
You could
spend thousands more
on a luxury import. But why?

PONTIAC
WE ARE DRIVING EXCITEMENT

PONTIAC CARES with a 3-year/36,000-mile no-deductible bumper-to-bumper limited warranty (see your dealer for details), plus free 24-hour Roadside Assistance and Courtesy Transportation. Call 1-800-762-4900 for more product information and dealer locations. Bonneville®  Always wear safety belts, even with airbags. ©1993 GM Corp. All Rights Reserved.

What Makes a Good Leader?

by GARRY WILLS



I HAD just turned seventeen, did not know Los Angeles, had never even driven in a big city. I had certainly never backed a trailer up to a loading dock. But my father gave me a map, marked a warehouse's location, and told me to deliver a refrigerator there. I would have to get someone to help me unload it when I arrived. It was very clever of him. I knew what he was doing. But I complied anyway.

I had a chip on my shoulder, since my father left my mother to marry a (much younger) Hollywood model. While I was in California for a high school contest, he asked me to work at his nascent business for the rest of the summer. But for that offer I would not have stayed. He knew that the way to recruit a resisting son-employee was to give me independence—not only in things like deliveries but in sales and the purchasing of household equipment. If I failed, that might break down my resistance. If I didn't, pride in the work might renew a bond that had been broken. Paradoxically, by giving me independence he got me to do his

Often, history shows, it is not the attributes—a rugged respect for principle, a refusal to govern by the polls—that we are prone to think we should want

will. That is the way leadership works—reciprocally engaging two wills, one leading (often in disguised ways), the other following (often while resisting). Leadership is always a struggle, often a feud.

Why, after all, should one person do another person's will? The answer that used to be given is simple: the leader is a superior person, to whom inferiors should submit. But modern democracies are as unsympathetic to this scheme as I was to the authority of my father. Patriarchal society, it is true, was rooted in a radical in-

equality between leaders and followers. Even ancient Athens, the first Western democracy, submitted to "the best man," according to Thucydides.

[Pericles], a man clearly above corruption, was enabled, by the respect others had for him and his own wise policy, to hold the multitude in a voluntary restraint. He led them, not they him; and since he did not win his power on compromising terms, he could say not only what pleased others but what displeased them, relying on their respect.

**We have long lists of the leader's requisites—
determination, focus, a clear goal, a sense
of priorities, and so on. We easily forget the first
and all-encompassing need—followers.**

Some still subscribe to that notion of leadership. How often have we heard that we lack great leaders now—the clearly virtuous kind, men like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln? The implication is that we could become great again with a great man to guide us. We would not mind submitting to anyone *that* good. (Of others we continue to be wary.)

I shall be arguing here that the Periclean type of leadership occurs rarely in history, if at all. Scholars have questioned Thucydides' description of Pericles' position—Athenians seemed quicker than most to ostracize leaders who thought themselves above the people. Why *should* people immolate their own needs and desires to conform to the vision of some superior being? That has happened in some theocratic societies, but then people were obeying God in his representative, and it was their belief in God's will that constrained them.

In a democracy, supposedly, the leader does not pronounce God's will *to* the people but carries out what is decided *by* the people. Some might object that in that case the leader is mainly a follower—he or she does what the community says when it speaks through elections, through polls, through constituent pressure. Because they are willing to compromise their principles, such leaders, unlike the Pericles of Thucydides, cannot displease their followers. They are bribed, if not with money then with acceptance, or office, or ego satisfaction.

We seem stuck, then, between two unacceptable alternatives—the leader who dictates to others and the one who truckles to them. If leaders dictate, by what authority do they take away people's right to direct their own lives? If they truckle, who needs or respects such weathervanes?

Most of the how-to manuals on leadership assume one or the other of these models—or, inconsistently, both. The superior-person model says the leader must become worthy of being followed—more disciplined than others, more committed, better organized. This sends aspiring leaders to the mirror, to strike firm-jawed poses and to cultivate self-confidence and a refusal to hedge.

Or the leader is taught to be ingratiating. This is the salesmanship, or Dale Carnegie, approach—how to win friends and influence people. It treats followers as customers who “buy” the leader's views after these have been consumer-tested and tailored for maximum acceptance.

The followers are, in this literature, a hazy and not very

estimable lot—people to be dominated or served, mesmerized or flattered. We have thousands of books on leadership, none on followership. I have heard college presidents tell their student bodies that schools are meant to train leaders. I have never heard anyone

profess to train followers. The ideal seems to be a world in which everyone is a leader—but who would be left for them to be leading?

Talk of the nobility of leaders, the need for them, and our reliance on them raises the clear suspicion that followers are *not* so noble. In that view leaders rise only by sinking others to subordinate roles. Leaders have a vision. Followers respond to it. Leaders organize a plan. Followers get sorted out to fit the plan. Leaders have willpower. Followers let that will replace their own.

We have long lists of the leader's requisites—determination, focus, a clear goal, a sense of priorities, and so on. We easily forget the first and all-encompassing need—followers. Without them, the best ideas, the strongest will, the most wonderful smile, have no effect. When Shakespeare's Welsh seer, Owen Glendower, boasts, “I can call spirits from the vasty deep,” Hotspur deflates him with the commonsense answer, “Why, so can I, or so can any man. But will they come when you do call for them?” It is not the noblest call that gets answered but the answerable call.

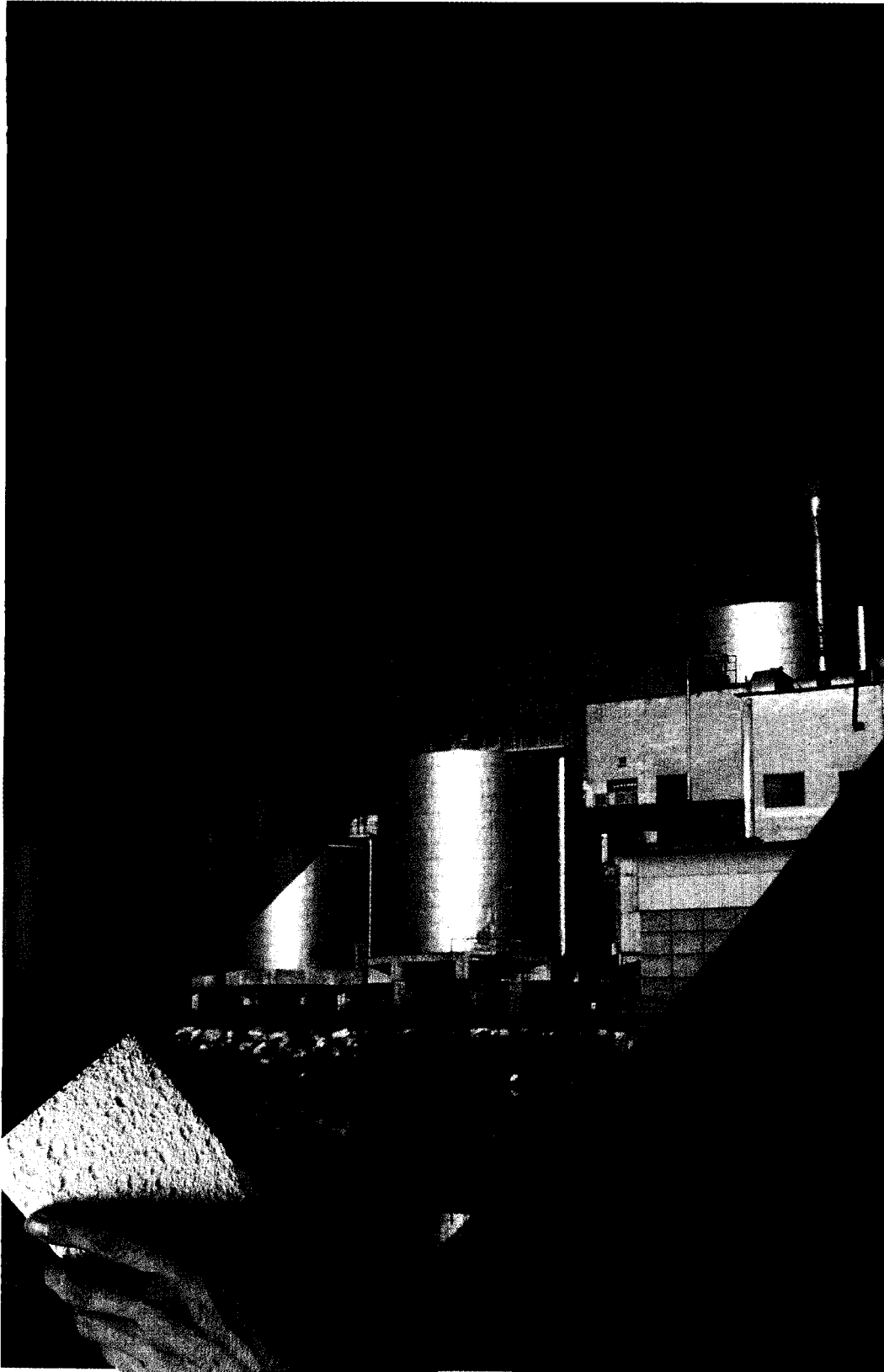
Leading by Listening

ABRAMHAM Lincoln did not have the highest vision of human equality in his day. Many abolitionists went further than he did in recognizing the moral claims of slaves to freedom and recognition of their human dignity. Lincoln had limited political goals, and he was willing to compromise even those. He knew that no one who espoused full equality for blacks could be elected in or from Illinois—so he unequivocally renounced that position:

I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. . . . I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor of intermarrying with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

But for that pledge Lincoln had no hope of winning office.

*Don't you wish
we could just do this to acid rain.*



© 1994 AMERICAN GAS ASSOC.

In a way we can—if more industrial and power plants switch to natural gas.

Natural gas is playing a key role in industry's compliance with the Clean Air Act Amendments and our government's plans for a cleaner future. It should play a key role in your company's future, too.

Natural gas power plants can produce 99% less sulfur dioxide and 90% less nitrogen oxide than oil or coal-fired plants.

And paired with the advances in equipment technology, in most cases, natural gas is the most efficient, cost-effective energy around.

Plus, there's a secure and steady supply of gas; over 99% of the gas we use comes from North America, and more than a million miles of pipeline coast to coast delivers it easily.

If more industrial and power plants switch to natural gas, we'll help wipe away acid rain, instead of wiping away our environment.



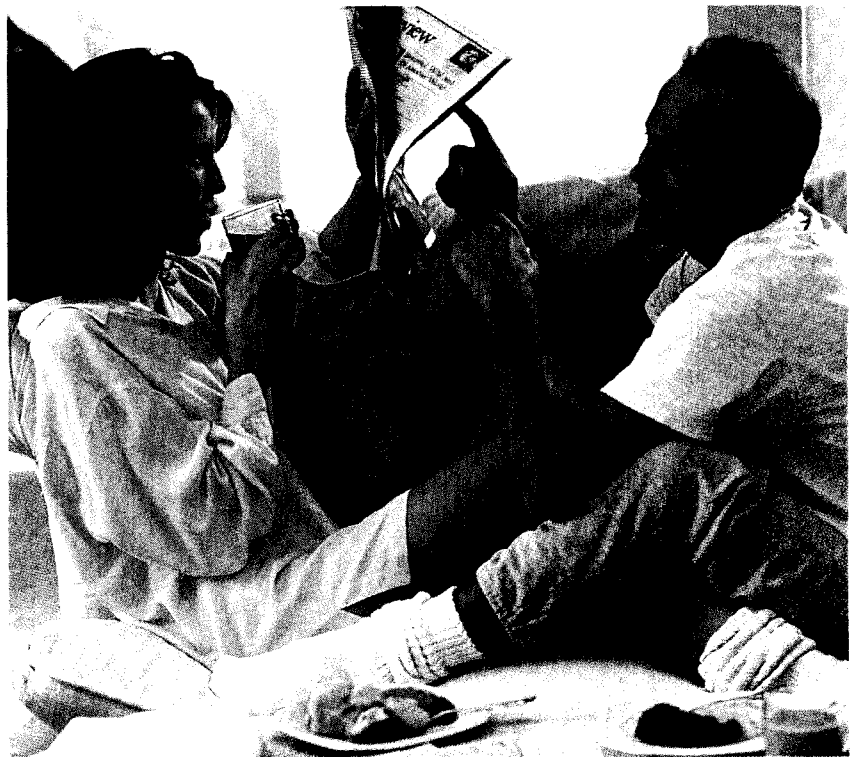
Clean, economical natural gas. Think what we'll save.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



*As Jim philosophized about
women, I continued to sip my
Baileys and coffee and read.*

*Between
the lines.*



BAILEYS AND BAILEYS LIGHT

© 1993 Imported by The Paddington Corp. Fort Lee, NJ Baileys Original Irish Cream Liqueur® 17% Alc/Vol. Baileys Light® 15% Alc/Vol.

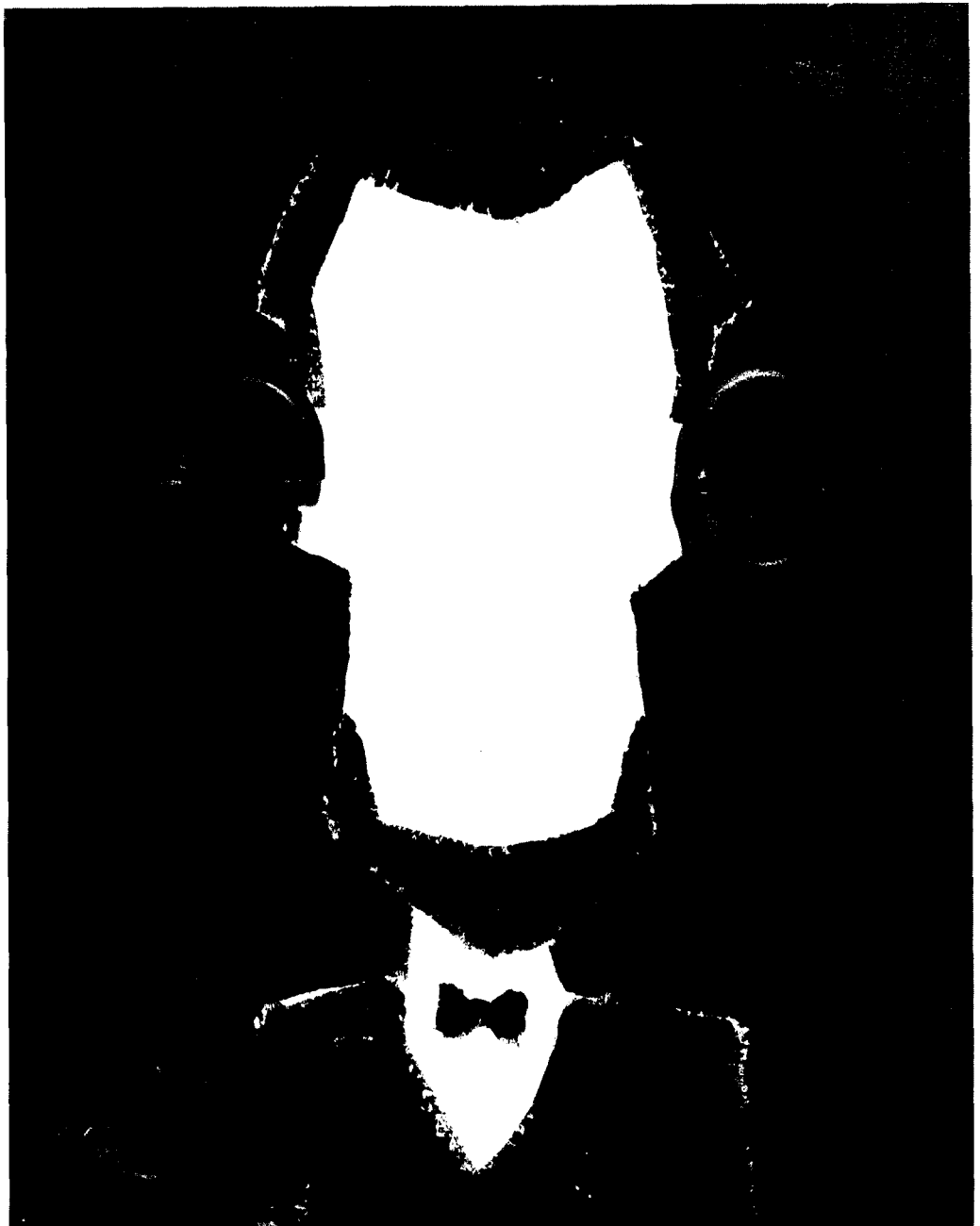
The followers were setting the terms of acceptance for their leader. He could not issue calls they were unprepared to hear. (He *could* do it, of course—as Owen Glendower can shout summonses down into the deep. But it would be a waste of time.)

This Lincoln has disappointed people who think followers should submit to a leader's superior vision—those who want the leader to be active and the followers passive. Lincoln's leadership was a matter of mutually determinative activity, on the part of the leader and the followers. Followers have a say in what they are being led to. A leader who neglects that fact soon finds himself without followers. To sound a certain trumpet does not mean just trumpeting one's own certitudes. It means sounding a specific call to specific people capable of response.

Does this remove or reduce the heroic note in Lincoln's leadership—as if he were only *allowed* to lead, by followers who could refuse to respond? Well, what is the alternative—people who cannot refuse to follow? If that were the case, the leader would be marshaling automatons, not voluntary respondents.

It is odd that resentment should be felt toward the demands of followers when the limiting power of circumstance is so readily accepted. Even the most ardent hero-worshippers of Winston Churchill admit that he needed an occasion for the exercise of his skills. But for the Second World War we would never have known how he could rally English spirit. Yet followers conform more closely to a leader than a leader does to external circumstances. The leader can have both the skill for his or her role and the occasion for its use and still lack followers who will respond to the initiative or the moment.

So much for the idea that a leader's skills can be applied to all occasions, that they can be taught outside a historical context or learned as a "secret" of the control of every situation. A leader whose qualities do not match those of potential followers is simply irrelevant: the world is not playing



his or her game. My favorite example of this is the leadership of Syrian holy men in the fifth century A.D. Those men, who made policy for whole communities, were revered for their self-ravaging austerity. The man who had starved himself most spectacularly was thought the best equipped to advise pious consultants. So delegations went to consult Simeon the "Stylite" ("pillar-man"), perched in his midair hermitage. Leadership was conditioned entirely by the attitudes of contemporary followership. Who would now write a manual called *The Leadership Secrets of Simeon Stylites*, telling people to starve and whip and torture themselves into command positions?

Closer to our time, Thomas Jefferson thought that the French Revolution had been less successful than the American one, not because the French lacked leaders but because they lacked discerning followers. A corrupt people is not responsive to virtuous leadership. The French spirit had been sapped, he claimed, by superstition (Catholicism) and despo-

tism (monarchy). Napoleon, to retain the people's allegiance, had to revert to both, calling on the Pope to crown him Emperor.

It may seem that the Lincoln example has moved us too far from the Periclean "best man" toward the Dale Carnegie accommodator. If the leader is just an expeditor of what other people want, a resource for their use, the people are not being *led* but *served*.

But Lincoln had no clear expression of popular will to implement. He had to elicit the program he wanted to serve, and that always involves affecting the views one is consulting. Even pollsters, seeking to understand what is on people's minds, affect the outcome by their mode of questioning. In Lincoln's constituency were some abolitionists, many defenders of slavery, and many more who wanted to avoid facing the issue of slavery. Unlike the abolitionists, who were leaders of a small elite putting pressure on the government from outside, Lincoln had to forge a combination of voters who would join him in at least minimal disapproval of slavery. He had to convince some people that it was in their own interest not to let the problem fester—he told them that they

could not afford to take Stephen Douglas's hands-off attitude.

Many voters resisted Lincoln—as I did my father in the summer of 1951. Lincoln deferred to some of their prejudices—left them independent in that sense—in order to win agreement on a policy of at least some hope for ultimate manumission. He argued in terms of his listeners' own views. They celebrated the Declaration of Independence, with its claim that all men are created equal. How could they stay true to their political identity, based on the Declaration, if they did not at some level oppose slavery? By keeping this option open for gradual approximation, Lincoln was able at a later period to take more-direct action. He temporized not to evade the problem but to prevent its evasion. G. K. Chesterton's *What I Saw in America* perfectly captured the delicacy of his operation:

He loved to repeat that slavery was intolerable while he tolerated it, and to prove that something ought to be done while it was impossible to do it. . . . But for all that this inconsistent consistency beat the politicians at their own game, and this abstracted logic proved most practical of all. For, when the chance did come to do something, there was no doubt

WHAT THE LIVING DO

Johnny, the kitchen sink has been clogged for days, some utensil probably fell down there.
And the Drano won't work but smells dangerous, and the crusty dishes have piled up

waiting for the plumber I still haven't called. This is the everyday we spoke of.
It's winter again: the sky's a deep, headstrong blue, and the sunlight pours through

the open living-room windows because the heat's on too high in here and I can't turn it off.
For weeks now, driving, or dropping a bag of groceries in the street, the bag breaking,

I've been thinking: This is what the living do. And yesterday, hurrying along those
wobbly bricks in the Cambridge sidewalk, spilling my coffee down my wrist and sleeve,

I thought it again, and again later, when buying a hairbrush: This is it.
Parking. Slamming the car door shut in the cold. What you called *that yearning*.

What you finally gave up. We want the spring to come and the winter to pass. We want
whoever to call or not call, a letter, a kiss—we want more and more and then more of it.

But there are moments, walking, when I catch a glimpse of myself in the window glass,
say, the window of the corner video store, and I'm gripped by a cherishing so deep

for my own blowing hair, chapped face, and unbuttoned coat that I'm speechless:
I am living. I remember you.

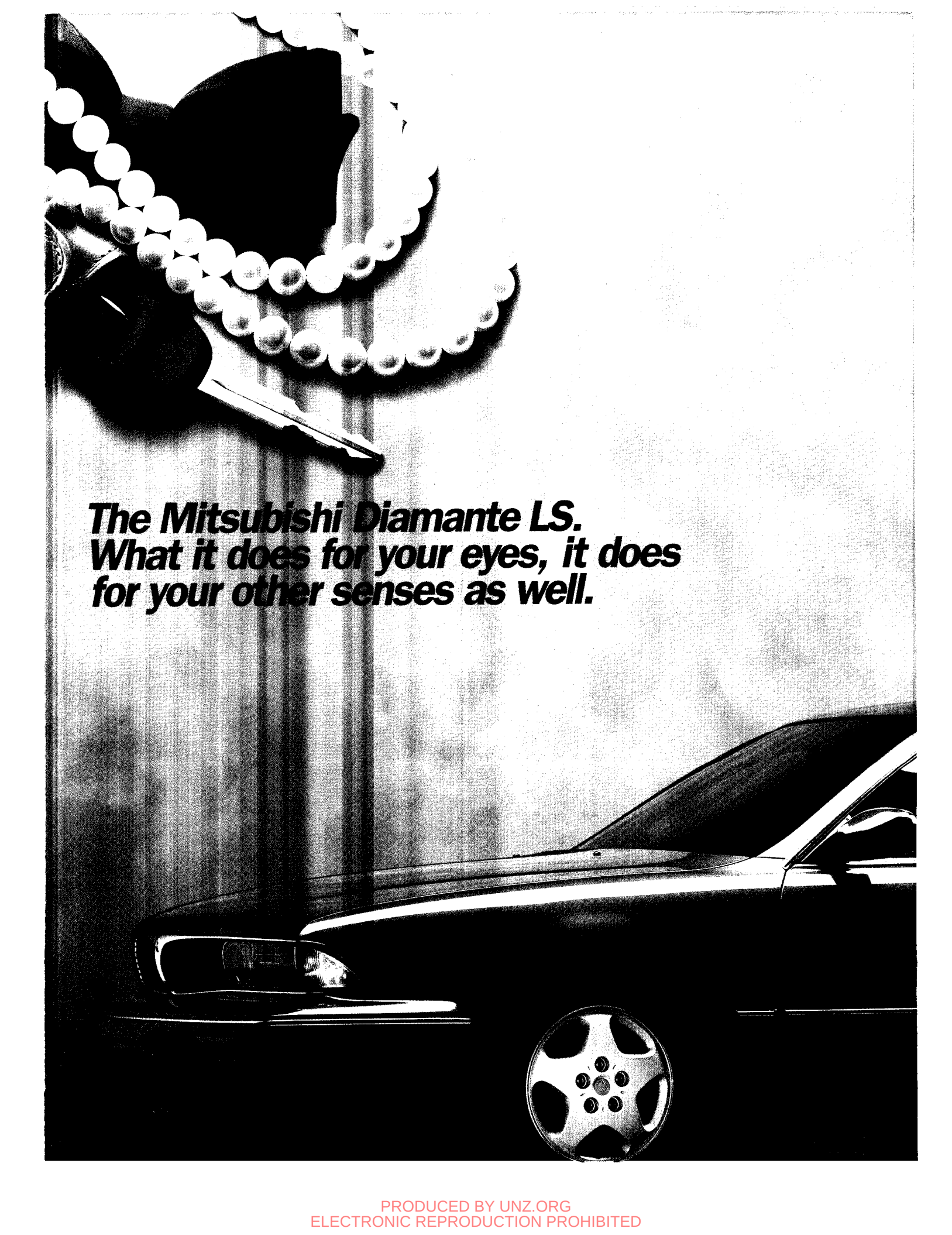
—MARIE HOWE

Mitsubishi Luxury

***You can take it to the Ritz.
You can take it to Baja.
Or you can take it up to 159 mph.***



D I A M A N T E M O N T E R O 3 0 0 0 G T



***The Mitsubishi Diamante LS.
What it does for your eyes, it does
for your other senses as well.***

The interplay of lines and shapes communicates what might be called "elegant aggression"—a fitting expression of the driving experience that awaits you. There is nothing bland or reticent about the



Diamante LS. Its rewards are emotional, sensual, as a luxury-performance sedan's rewards should be. A perfect embodiment of what Mitsubishi calls "The New Thinking in Automobiles.™"

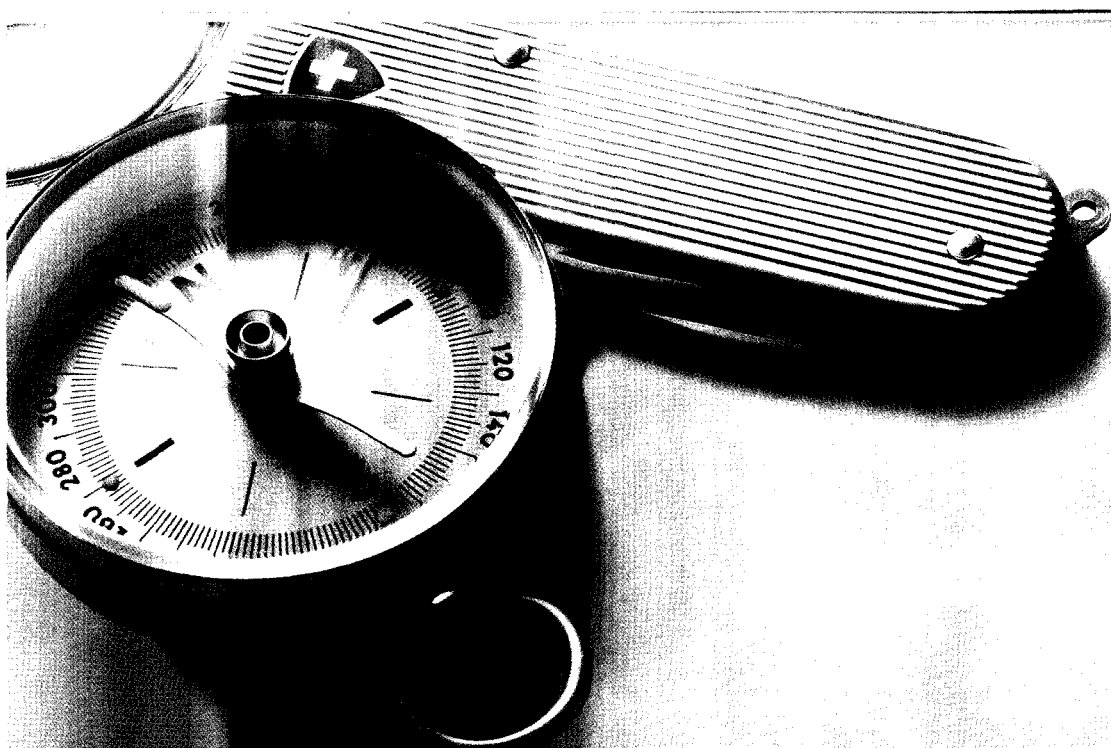
From behind the wheel it feels taut, yet supple, giving a vivid tactile impression of the road, minus the sharp edges. The 7-way adjustable driver's seat comes with

power assist and is easily contoured to your frame. Once adjusted, it soothes you as you drive. Precise orthopedics, with the opulence of leather.

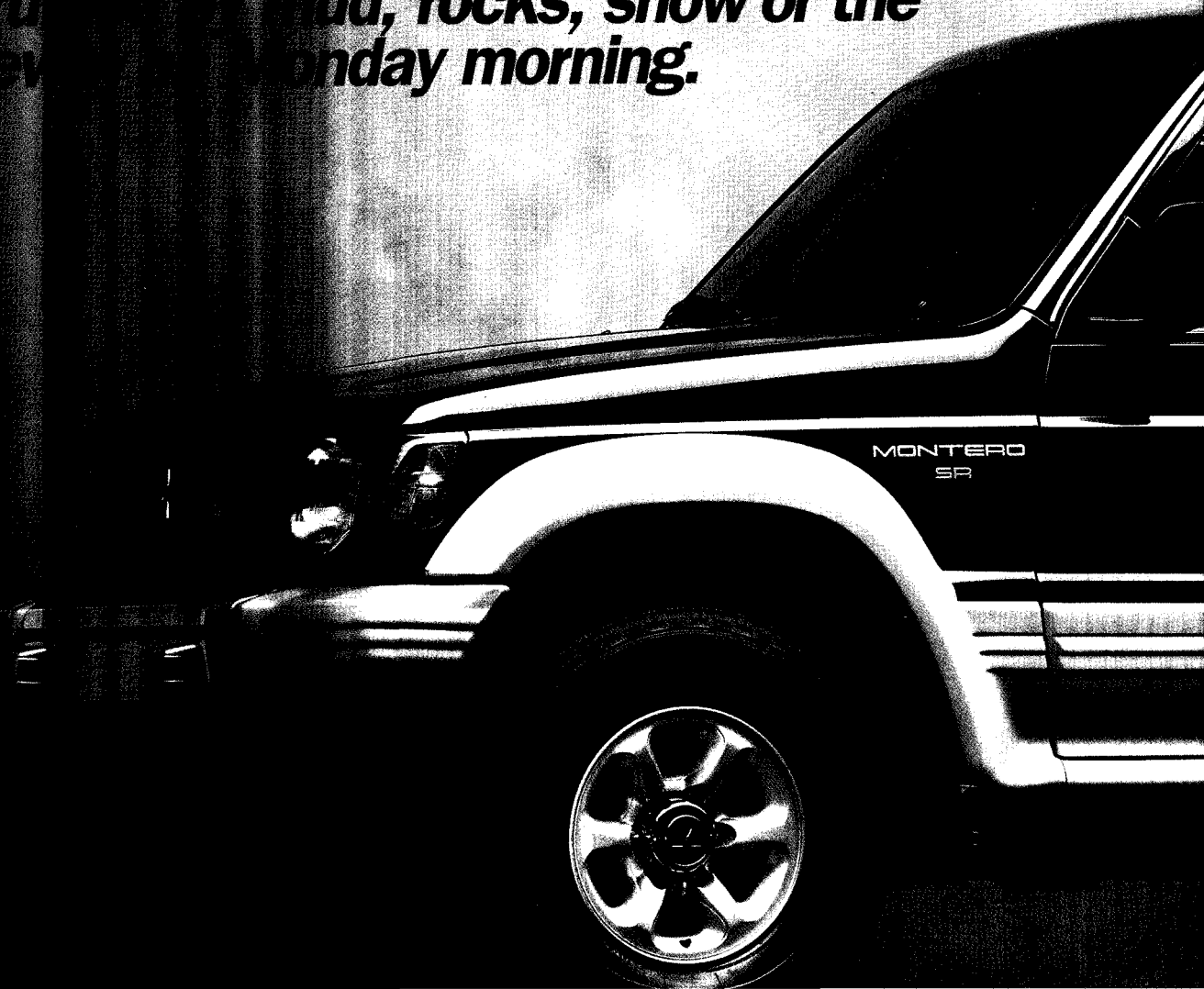
The 24-valve V6 engine moves you along with exhilarating swiftness and gratifying quietness. Allowing you to fully appreciate the extraordinary stereo system, designed in cooperation with Infinity®, renowned makers of fine audio equipment. Meanwhile, Mitsubishi's patented ETACS-IV™ encompasses ten separate convenience features to enhance your comfort and safety, from speed-sensitive windshield wipers to a comprehensive security system.

Dual air bags, ABS anti-lock brakes, side-impact protection, optional traction control, and an enormously strong passenger cage all contribute to your sense of security and well-being. Which, in turn, serve to intensify the boundless other pleasures to be enjoyed in the Diamante LS.





**The Montero SR.
Unruffled by mud, rocks, snow or the
freeway on Monday morning.**



A fine luxury car is expected to display poise, unflappability, masterful control. But only on reasonably passable roads.



The Montero SR displays those traits on roads that would not be passable for any conventional luxury vehicle. As well as surfaces that don't remotely qualify as roads, and in forbidding weather.

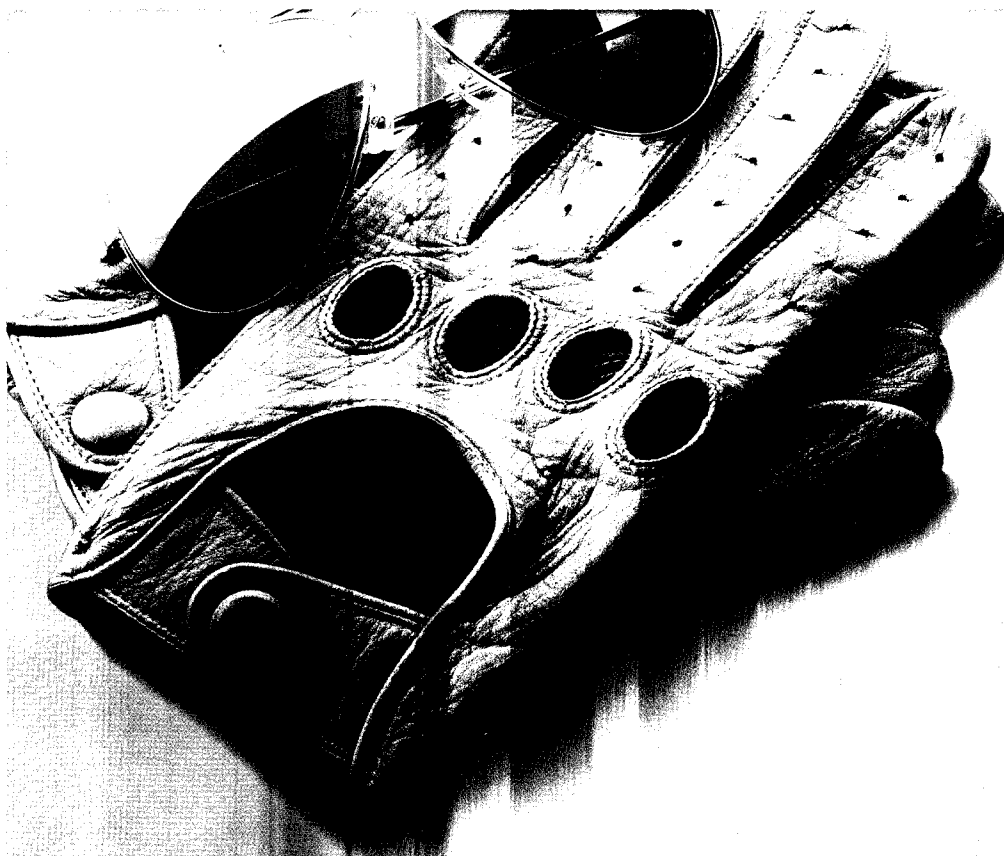
With Active-Trac™ 4WD, Montero even adapts to the severity of the conditions at hand. From a lightly rain-slicked road all the way to deep mud and snow. And

with Multi-Mode™ ABS, anti-lock braking is preserved in every drive mode. It's a highly versatile, ruggedly proficient luxury sport-utility. In essence, a "go-anywhere" luxury vehicle.

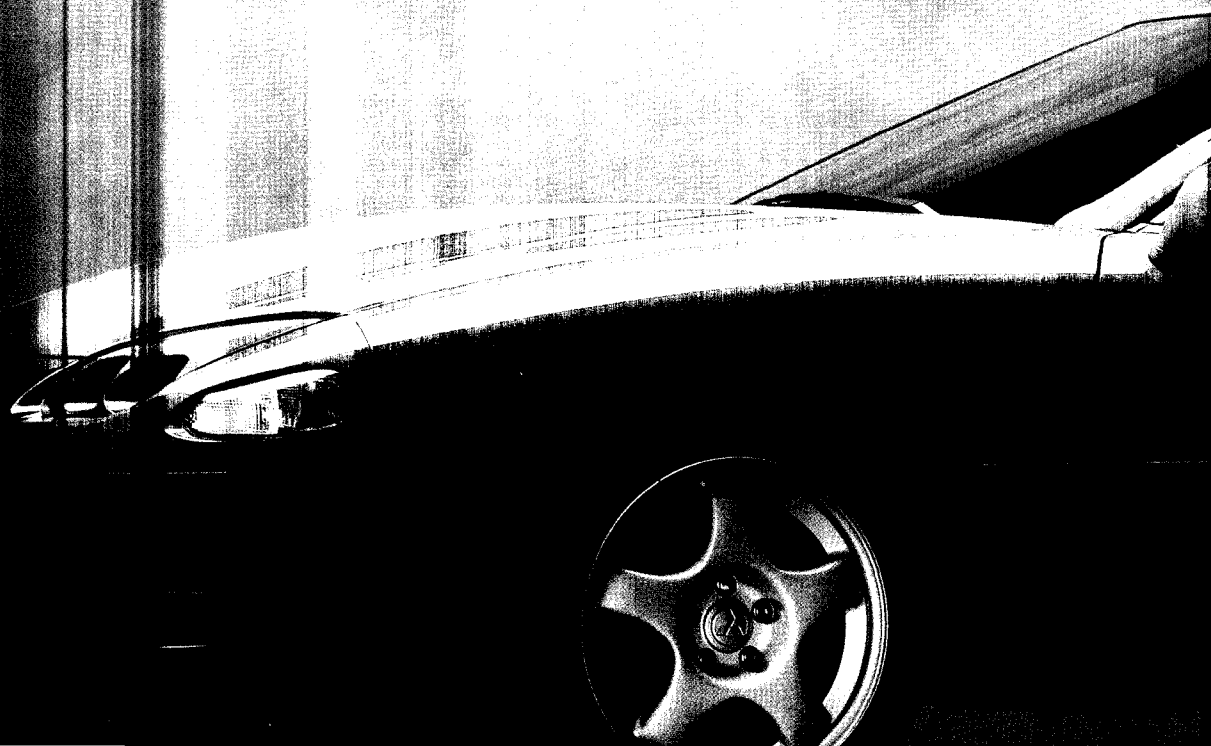
To go with its smooth, unruffled handling of almost any condition, there's a smooth 24-valve V6 engine capable of generating 215 horsepower. There's also a host of amenities, including a premium stereo system, power windows and door locks, cruise control, three-row seating for seven, and available leather and wood interior trim.

All this, with an off-road racing heritage that, in 1993 alone, produced five major victories for Montero,™ including the Paris-Dakar Rally. Such versatility isn't what you expect from a luxury vehicle. But then, it's exactly what Mitsubishi's "new thinking" demands.

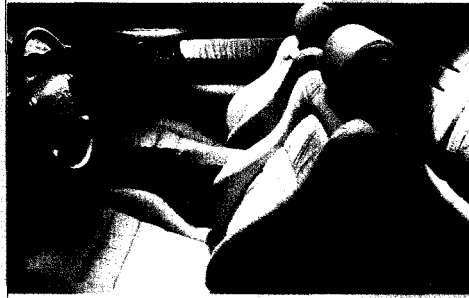




***The Mitsubishi 3000GT VR-4.
It reaches 159 mph on a race track
and is equally thrilling in a parking lot.***



There are roads on which it's perfectly legal to extract maximum performance from the 3000GT VR-4. Such roads are



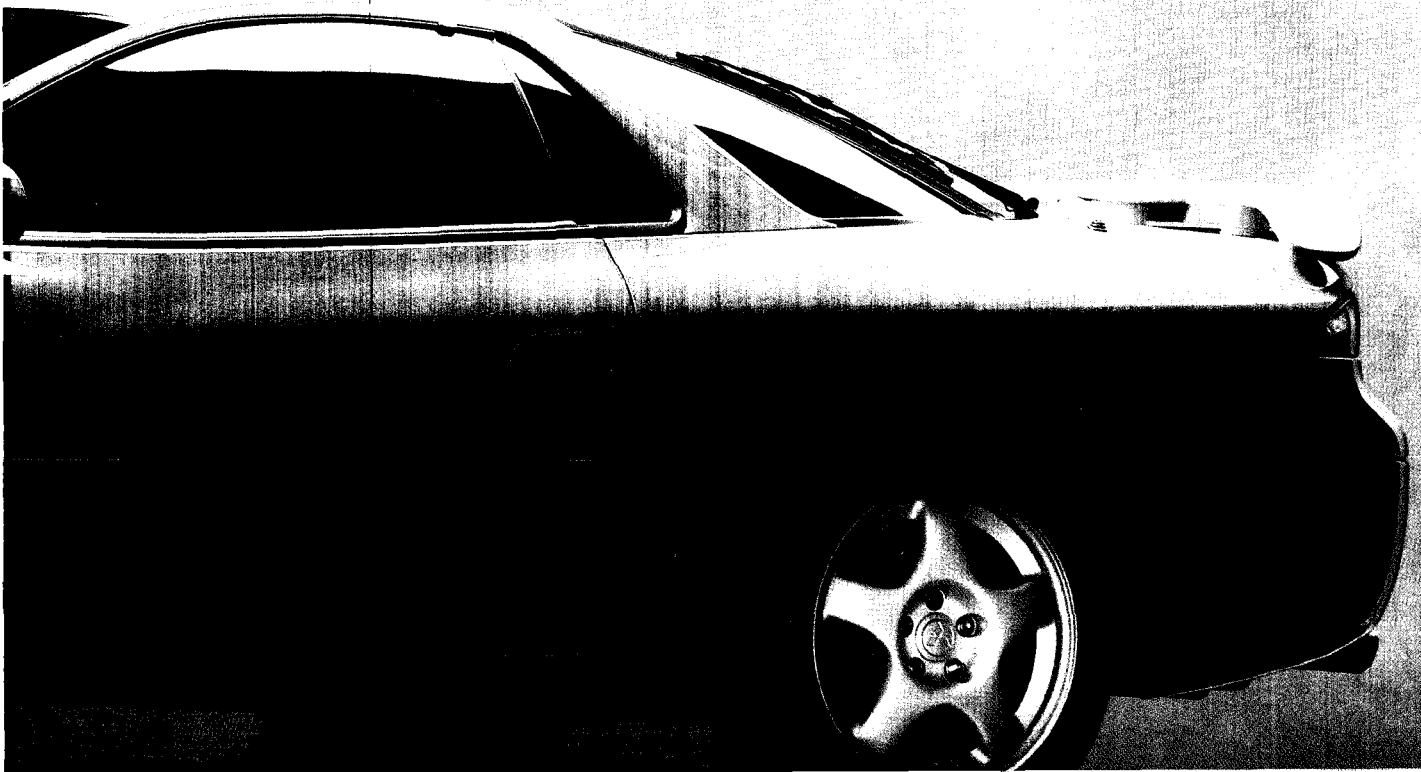
usually oval tracks, closed to normal traffic. But who knows? You may decide to seek one out someday.

On the other hand, you may well be content with the challenges offered by public roads—the slow-moving truck or the snaking back road, for example. Under such circumstances, terms like “all-wheel drive,” “four-wheel steering,”

“twin turbochargers,” “320 horsepower” and “six-speed gearbox” take on special meaning. You'd never believe an automobile could do such things. And with such gratifying smoothness and finesse.

The truth is, the 3000GT VR-4 represents new thinking in high-performance driving. It looks and performs like an exotic sports car, but isn't priced like one. Moreover, it's equally gratifying as a grand-touring sports car, equipped with such luxury features as a power-adjustable driver's seat, leather trim, a superb Mitsubishi/Infinity® stereo system and comprehensive safety equipment.

All of which make it enormously enjoyable to spend time in. Whether you're negotiating a race track, taking an all-day trip or just sitting still in a parking lot. And that says nothing about the fun you'll have watching heads turn.



***If Mitsubishi's ideas about luxury seem new,
fresh, unexpected...that's only to be expected.***



Mitsubishi 3000GT Spyder

is designed for
driving pleasure.
different?

professional drivers using
limits.

Mitsubishi Motors and
is a pre-production
1994, may feature
1994, may feature
1994, may feature
1994, may feature

asc.

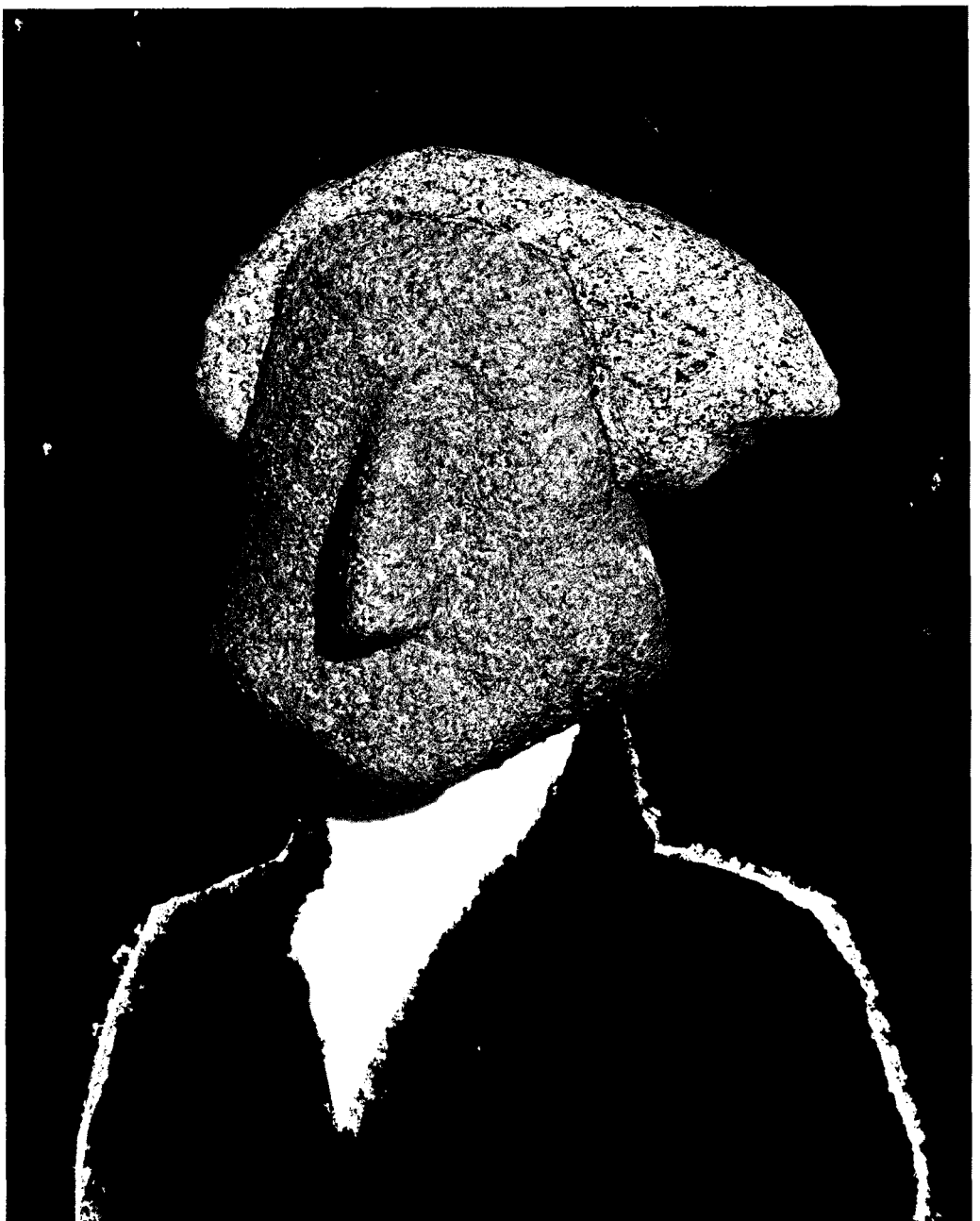


about the thing to be done.
The thunderbolt fell from the
clear heights of heaven.

In order to know just how far he could go at any moment, Lincoln had to understand the mixture of motives in his fellow citizens, the counterbalancing intensities with which they held different positions, and in what directions those positions were changing moment by moment. The leader needs to understand followers far more than they need to understand him. This is the time-consuming aspect of leadership. It explains why great thinkers and artists are rarely leaders of others, as opposed to influences on them. The scientist absorbed in the solution to a problem does not have the energy or patience to understand the needs of a number of other people who might be marshaled to deal with the problem. That is something the popularizer of the great man's thought usually does. More important, the pure scientist does not tailor his view of (say) the atom to whatever audience he hopes to influence, as Lincoln trimmed and hedged on slavery in order to make people take small steps toward facing the problem.

My father was a natural leader who acted in small arenas. Even as a child, I thought it childish of him to want to get his way all the time. I did not notice then that he got his way by entering into the minds of others and finding something there that would respond to his attentions—as, on a vastly different scale, Lincoln found a grudging acceptance of the Declaration's pledge on which to build his strategy of emancipation. My father's tactics were different with me, with my sister, with the golfing friends I observed him with while caddying. There is something selfless in the very selfishness of leaders—they must see things as the followers see them in order to recruit those followers.

If the followers get marshaled toward action by a leader, the leader need not be loved or admired, though that can help. I had no great admiration for my father when I found myself responding to his initiatives. Conversely, one can admire or love people who are not, by virtue of that love, leaders.



An Indispensable Element: A Shared Goal

IMAGINE a meeting called to consider a course of action—let us say, to mount a protest against an employer whose hiring and promotion practices discriminate against women. A speaker rises who is stunningly eloquent. Listener A knows and admires the speaker, would go anywhere to hear her speak, hopes to emulate her eloquence in his own way; but he does not care about the issue, and the speech does not bring him any closer to caring. Listener B, on the contrary, has never met the speaker, does not particularly like her, is disposed to resent the employer but had no hope of finding allies to resist him, and is now heartened to act in conjunction with others responding to the speaker. Who is the follower here? If, as seems certain, it is Listener B, then admiration, imitation, and affection are not necessary to followership. Agreement on a *goal* is necessary.

**Those who wanted ideological consistency,
or even policy coherence, were rightly exasperated
with Roosevelt. He switched economic plans
as often as he changed treatments for his polio.**

So far I have been discussing just two things—leaders and followers. That is better, at least, than discussions dealing with only one thing—leaders. But the discussions cannot get far without the goal. This is not something added on to the other two. It is the reason for the existence of the other two. It is also the equalizer between leader and followers. The followers do not submit to the person of the leader. They join him or her in pursuit of the goal. My father and I were working together for the success of his new business. Of course, he had separate motives for wanting me there, and I had motives for not wanting to be there; by definition, we could not share those motives. It was the thing we could share that created the possibility of leadership.

It is time for a definition: the leader is one who mobilizes others toward a goal shared by leader and followers. In that brief definition all three elements are present, and indispensable. Most literature on leadership is unitarian. But life is trinitarian. One-legged and two-legged chairs do not, of themselves, stand. Leaders, followers, and goals make up the three equally necessary supports for leadership.

The goal must be shared, no matter how many other motives are present that are not shared. Go back to the meeting that called for a protest against employer discrimination. The speaker may have had many ancillary motives for speaking—to show off her rhetorical style, to impress a sexual partner in the audience, to launch a larger political career. Her listeners would surely have many motives—some to improve their prospects with the employer, or their standing among fellow workers. But the followers become followers only insofar as they agree with the speaker on a plan of action against the employer.

This plan is cast in terms of justice, though it is easy to think that this is only a rationale for the various motives, some shared, some not. Each is in this to get something different. David Hume, the eighteenth-century philosopher, said that people obey others for their own advantage; this writhing of various wormlike urges for advantage is far from the picture of idealistic leaders and docile followers.

Yet Hume, perceptive as he was, knew that people follow most reliably when they are convinced that what they are doing is right. He knew the utility of that belief. If, at the meeting to discuss discrimination, only those who would benefit directly from the protest were to join the speaker, that would limit the followership from the outset. And that small number would always be fraying away. The boss could buy off dis-

sent by special favors to a few of the activists, or threats to the weakhearted. Once a given person got what she wanted, she would have no future motive for supporting her sisters. Private advantage shifts constantly, and is a poor basis for public action. That is why Lin-

coln based his policy on the moral claim of the Declaration of Independence. Some thought that he did not go far enough, others that he went too far; but the moral ground of the Declaration was both broad and narrow enough to accommodate many positions while remaining fixed itself.

Lincoln had to persuade voters. He could not force them. Where coercion exists, leadership becomes unnecessary or impossible to the extent of coercion's existence. Loose use of the word "lead" can mislead. We talk of a policeman leading his prisoner to jail. But the policeman is not a leader in our sense—he is a captor. Though he is mobilizing another toward a goal, it is not a goal they share. The prisoner's goal is to get as far away from the prison as possible.

A slave master buying labor can "lead" slaves to his plantation, but that does not make him their leader. He is their owner. If I had worked for my father only because I needed the money and could get it nowhere else, I would not have been a follower, just an employee. Coercion is not leadership any more than mesmerism is. Followers cannot be automatons. The totalitarian jailer who drags a prisoner into confession of a crime has not led him to some shared view of reality.

Nor does a leader just vaguely affect others. He or she takes others toward the object of their joint quest. That object defines the kind of leadership at issue. Different types of leaders should be distinguished more by their goals than by the personality of the leader (the most common practice). The crisis of mere subsistence on a life raft calls for one type of leader, democratic stability for another, revolutionary activity for still a third. Lincoln's compromise and flexibility were appropriate for *his* kind of leadership.

**A Great Leader in Our
Century: FDR**

WE like to believe that in some golden age there were leaders of such recognized integrity that the American people simply accepted their determinations, issued from on high. But even George Washington, in the deferential eighteenth century, was solicitous enough of public opinion to be called cowardly by some of his critics.

Only one twentieth-century President is consistently rated among the top three or four chief executives of our history—Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He has been taken as a model of leadership by many authors, notably Richard

Neustadt, who wrote, in *Presidential Power*, the most influential modern book on that subject,

No President in this century has had a sharper sense of personal power, a sense of what it is and where it comes from; none has had more hunger for it, few have had more use for it, and only one or two could match his faith in his own competence to use it. Perception and desire and self-confidence, combined, produced their own reward. No modern President has been more nearly the master in the White House.

The emphasis is all on the leader's internal qualities—mainly his confidence, ambition, and determination: “Roosevelt had a love affair with power”; “Roosevelt's methods were the product of his insights, his incentives, and his confidence.” Neustadt describing Roosevelt sounds like Thucydides describing Pericles—here, at last, is a ruler who can, by sheer mastery, impose his views on the multitude.

But another school of historians—including the eminent Richard Hofstadter—has described Roosevelt as one who veered with shifting popular responses. “He was content in large measure to follow public opinion,” Hofstadter wrote in *The American Political Tradition*, because he was “a public instrument of the most delicate receptivity.” Roosevelt proved that “flexibility was both his strength and his weakness.” The result was great energy employed in “harum-scarum” ways: “Hoover had lacked motion; Roosevelt lacked direction.”

Some more-recent treatments of Roosevelt, notably Kenneth Davis's multivolume biography, have been more hostile than Hofstadter was in describing Roosevelt's subservience to public opinion. And, in fact, FDR's record seems hard to reconcile with the Neustadt picture of firm control. In New York politics Roosevelt first opposed and then cooperated with the Tammany political machine. He supported and then opposed Al Smith; promoted and then abandoned the League of Nations—“the first Democratic candidate [for President] who explicitly repudiated the League,” Hofstadter writes. He fluttered back and forth on Prohibition. As President he reversed himself on the balanced budget, on business consolidation, on farm subsidies, on labor protection, on aid to Europe. Friends as well as foes, from both the right and the left, noticed that the pro-business “First New Deal” of 1933 was profoundly at odds with the pro-labor “Second New Deal” of 1935—and many ascribed the change to Roosevelt's fear that the populist Huey Long was taking away some of his support on the left.

Which is it to be—the masterful Roosevelt of Neustadt or the scrambler after popular acceptance of Hofstadter? Can the two be reconciled? Not if we keep as our ideal the Periclean man, above the need for popular acceptance. If Roosevelt had power, it came precisely from his responsiveness to public opinion. And that came, indirectly, from the crushing blow that took from him, at the age of thirty-nine, all future use of his legs.

Forced Maturation

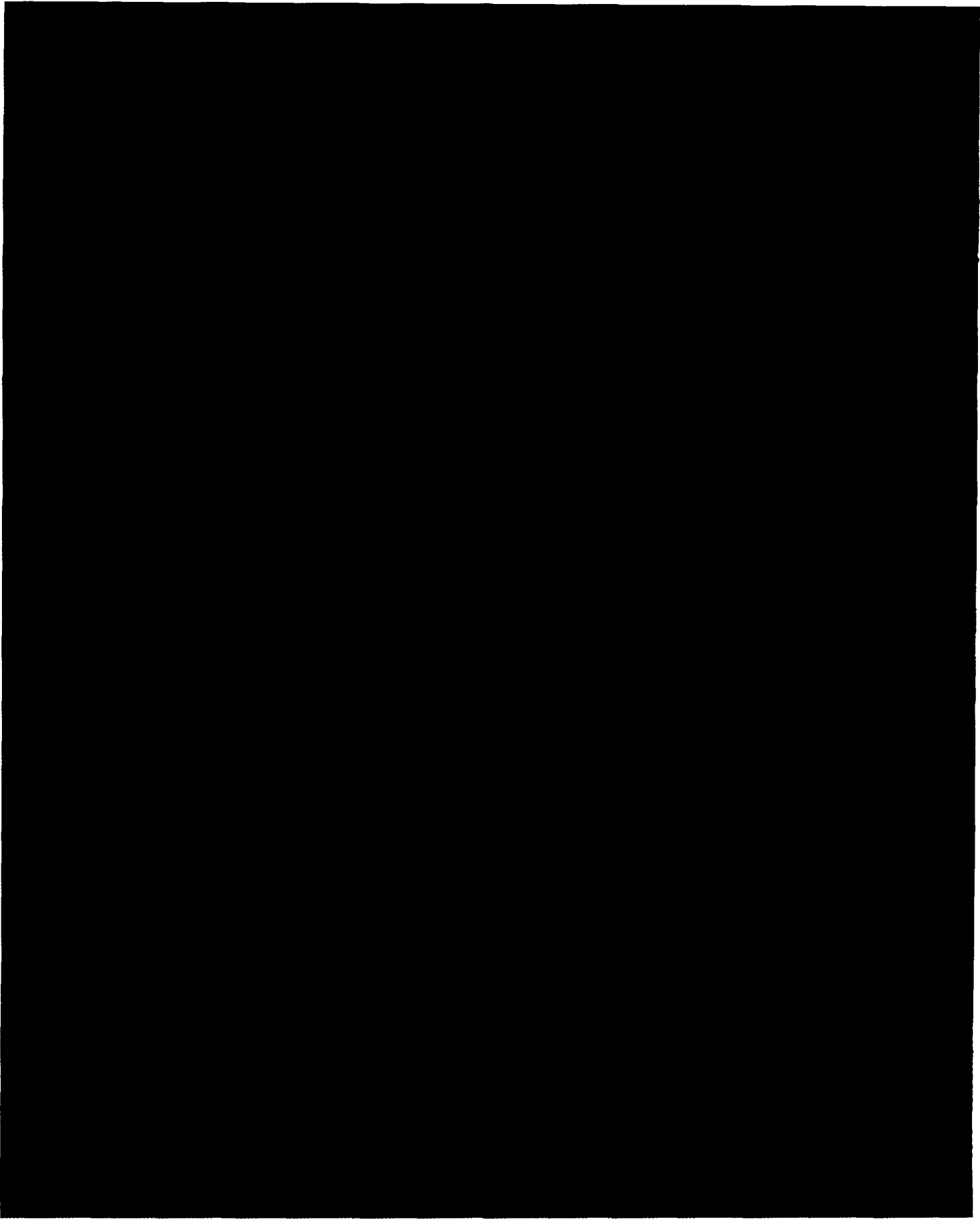
STUDENTS of Roosevelt are agreed that the polio attack of 1921 profoundly changed him. He might have become President without having had to surmount that obstacle, but it is unlikely that he would have been a great, or even a good, President. Before he was crippled, Roosevelt had been a genial glad-hander, an acceptable politician considered lightweight by the pros (men like Al Smith)—too anxious to please, clumsily ingratiating. Even in pictures from that time he seems a dithery Bertie Wooster in his straw boater. His caustic cousin, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, called him a sissy and a mama's boy. As the sole child of the frosty patrician Sara Delano Roosevelt, he had been sheltered from hardship, cushioned in privilege.

At the least, then, the struggle to walk again—always defeated but never quite given up—toughened Roosevelt. His legs withered away, but from the waist up the willowy youth became a barrel-chested man able to swing the useless parts of his body around to give an artful impression of overall strength. Some say that the suffering deepened his sympathy with others who were afflicted—and that was certainly true among his fellow “polios” (their favored term) at Warm Springs, the Georgia clinic Roosevelt established for his and others' use. He had a comradeship in that setting never experienced elsewhere: with its patients he shared his otherwise lonely fight to achieve mobility.

While granting all this, we should resist the sentimentalism that creeps into much of the discussion about Roosevelt's polio. Some talk as if polio sealed him with a redemptive mark of suffering. The Byronic hero is marked by deformity or defect in a way that drives him from the comforts of the prosaic world into the enforced solitude where genius creates an entirely new human vision, brilliant even if one-sided. The artist suffers, but he gains from his suffering, because it severs him from the herd.

Roosevelt's polio did not separate him from others but drove him out toward them—and not to crave sympathy. He would accept no pity. The shrewdest judges of polio's impact on Roosevelt are two authors who themselves suffered from polio—Geoffrey Ward and Hugh Gregory Gallagher. There is no sentimentality in these men's views of Roosevelt. They both see that what polio did was to make him preternaturally aware of others' perceptions of him. This increased his determination to control those perceptions. People were made uncomfortable by his discomfort. He needed to distract them, to direct their attention to subjects he preferred, to keep them amused, impressed, entertained. That meant he had to perfect a deceptive ease, a casual aplomb, in the midst of acute distress. He became a consummate actor.

For Roosevelt to “walk” in public, he had to balance on his locked braces and pretend to be using his legs while he was actually shifting back and forth from his cane to the man (often one of his sons) whose arm he gripped on the other



TO RED TAPE

When you call a GTE Customer Care Center, you'll speak to someone with the power to solve your problem on

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



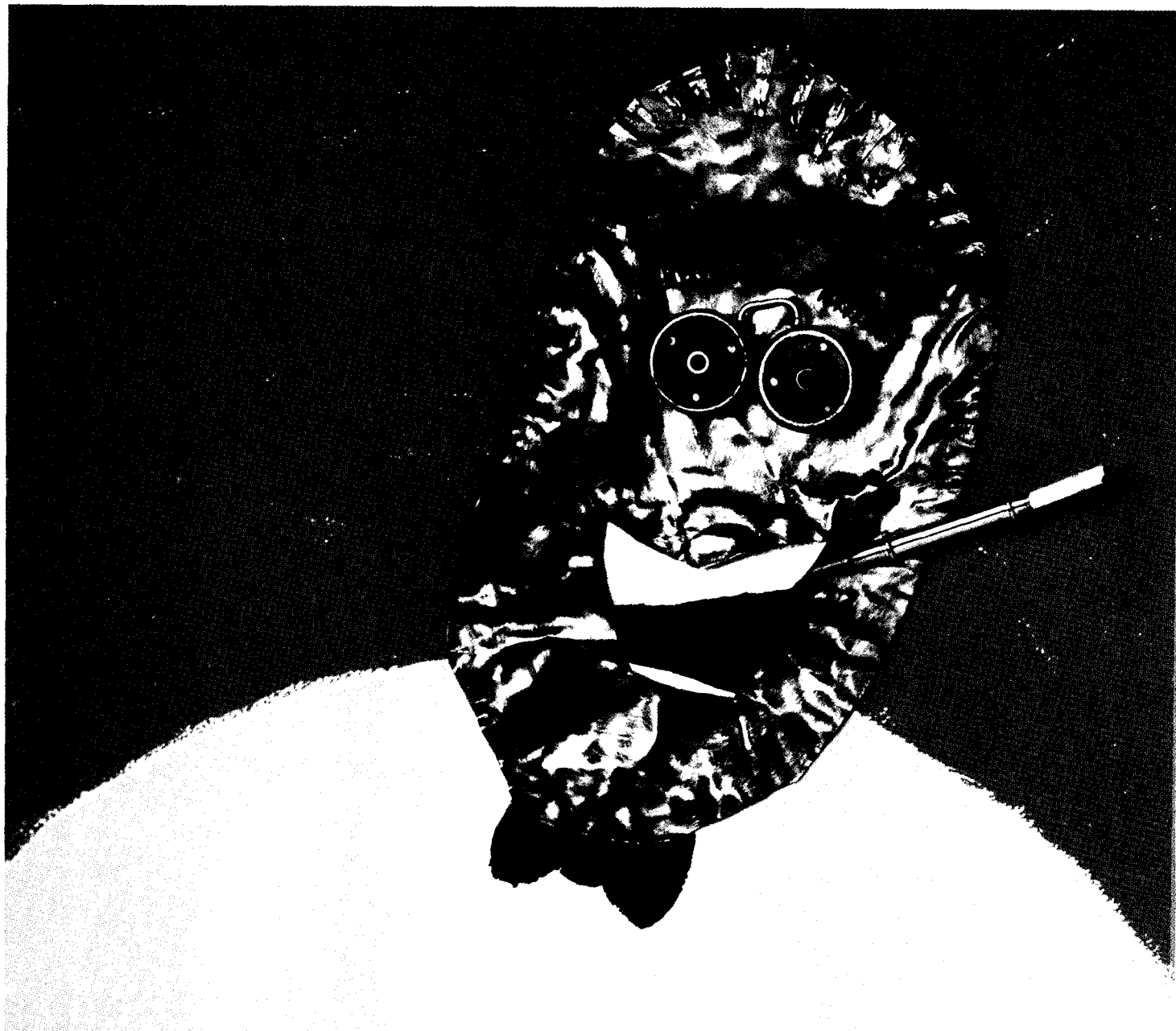
T'S A MACHETE.

t. Which means you'll get an answer. Not the runaround.



It's amazing what we can do together.™

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

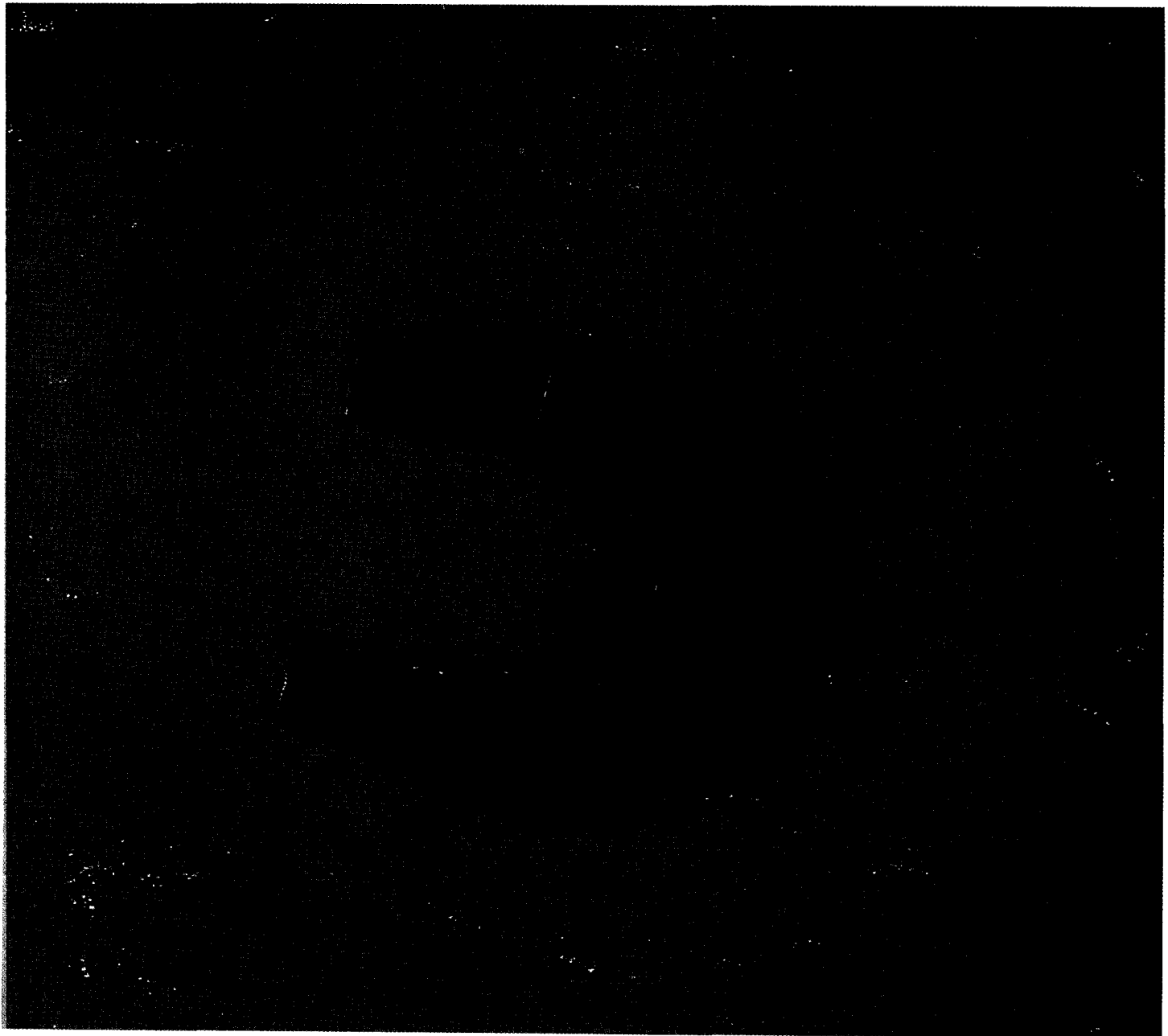


side. The strain always left his suit soaked with sweat, the hand on the cane shaking violently from the effort, the son's arm bruised where his fingers had dug in. And all the while he would be smiling, keeping up pleasant banter, pretending to enjoy himself.

The danger was always there. His sticklike legs in their metal binding could snap easily if he fell. It was almost impossible for one person to raise him, with his heavy braces locking the legs in an unbending position. When he fell in the lobby of his office building, his chauffeur could not pull him up off the slippery floor, and Roosevelt had to recruit two other men in the lobby for help. The surprised men were the recipients of a flow of jokes and chatter that made it seem like Roosevelt was treating the episode as a particularly funny game. When they got him propped up again, Ward writes, "still smiling and laughing, but with his knuckles white on the handles of his crutches and his legs alarmingly splayed for balance, he said 'Let's go!' and started for the elevators

once more." Roosevelt rarely fell in public, partly because he gave up the attempt at public "walking" as the years went by. But each time he did fall, it was a searing crisis to those few who understood how truly helpless he became.

The iron control of his own reactions, necessary for handling such a crisis, was something Roosevelt had achieved by the time he ran for President. While he was sitting in an open car in Miami in 1933, a would-be assassin, standing within twelve yards of the President, fired at him five times. Roosevelt stared at the man, unflinching, while Mayor Anton Cermak, of Chicago, who had been standing next to the car, fell, mortally wounded. The Secret Service tried to move the car away, but Roosevelt stopped it and had Cermak put into the seat with him. He then ordered the car to the hospital and tried to revive the dying Cermak on the way. FDR's calm command of the situation came from more than a decade of sitting in judgment on the passing scene, ready to make the proper moves to keep people from panicking at



the sight of his helplessness. Franklin Roosevelt had always wanted to imitate his admired cousin Theodore, and had usually failed—at Harvard, as a warrior, as a writer. But that day he displayed the same sangfroid Teddy had when an assailant wounded him during the 1912 campaign; TR gave his scheduled speech anyway, though blood was oozing from his shirt.

In less dramatic daily ordeals FDR kept control of others' reactions when he was lifted in or out of cars, carried up stairs, or straightened up again when he had tilted over in a seat without arms. He did this by telling jokes, or locking their eyes to his, or teasing others, making them think of their own vulnerability—as one polio has called it, “walking on your tongue.”

When he had no one to carry him upstairs, he sat on the bottom step, reached backward to the higher step, and pulled up his body with his powerful arms, engaging in distracting talk as if he were not doing anything extraordinary. Some-

one had to be with him always. He was uneasy when no one could respond to a sudden threat—an accident, or the need for help to the bathroom. He was especially worried at the thought of a fire in his house or on his boat. Despite this extreme dependence on those around him—he was carried to and from bed, lifted into and out of his bath, clothed by others—Roosevelt kept up a tiring regime of public activity, during which he looked only slightly inconvenienced. This “splendid deception,” as Gallagher calls it, involved careful stage-management of all his appearances, ruthless suppression of any camera in his vicinity until he had settled into the pose he wanted to strike, and carefully constructed ramps, bathrooms, and rails wherever he was going to appear.

When he could not get out, he drew others in around him, maintaining a crowded schedule of interviews, entertainments, meetings with members of Congress, with the press, with celebrities. His press conferences were frequent, two a week or more, well staged to seem informal. The reporters

clustered around Roosevelt's desk, so he did not have to move. They could not quote him directly, but that made the banter on both sides freer and more revealing. Roosevelt probed and learned from them while showing his dexterity in avoiding their attempts to learn anything he was not ready to say. His aides marveled at the bits of information he had managed to acquire. He liked to keep some mystery about his sources: it was another way of demonstrating that he was in touch.

To avoid podiums, where he might fall, Roosevelt invented the "fireside chat." Again, he could sit at his desk while the world came to him. For people used to seeing political oratory on newsreels or hearing speeches broadcast from auditoriums, where the acoustics and the size of the audience made for slow and pompous delivery, Roosevelt's seated-in-the-same-room-with-you style gave a shock of intimacy. Cousin Theodore had been a tub-thumper. Woodrow Wilson was mellifluous but exalted. Herbert Hoover was pinched and pedantic. People felt that Roosevelt, unlike his predecessors, was confiding in them and consulting them. The man who seemed immobilized had ghosted himself into their front rooms.

Invaluable Histrionics

SOME might think it an insult to call a President an actor. It was certainly intended that way when Ronald Reagan was dismissed as "just an actor." But all politicians need some of an actor's abilities. They must feign welcome to unwanted constituents' attentions, cooperate with despised party allies, wax indignant at politically chosen targets. This is the work not of inferior politicians but of the masters. The three Presidents normally at the top of historians' lists—Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt—all had strong histrionic instincts. Roosevelt could not go to the theater—or to church, for that matter—because of his logistical problems; but Washington and Lincoln were both avid theatergoers. Washington's favorite literature was Joseph Addison's play *Cato*. Lincoln's was *Macbeth*. Lincoln read aloud the speeches of Shakespeare to anyone who would listen to him.

Washington was a master of the telling theatrical gesture. Even his Christmas Eve assault on Trenton was more a *coup de théâtre* than a strategically meaningful step. His various resignations of office were choreographed. When he could not count on a response from his audience, he hesitated to act. Lincoln knew the impact of his haunting features, and loved to pose for photographers. A great storyteller, he could milk a line for laughs as surely as Roosevelt did in his Fala speech—the one that feigned shock that enemies would think his Scottish terrier a wastrel.

An actor is not, as such, a leader. The appreciation of an audience is not motion toward some goal shared with the actor. Fans are not followers. But a popular leader must use

some tricks from the actor's stock. Above all, a good leader must know what is appealing to followers and what risks losing that appeal. Roosevelt had that sensitivity to others' reactions, developed to an almost morbid degree, because of his awareness of their attention to his physical condition. He had to know, to a centimeter, the line that divides pity from compassion, condescension from cooperation, mere sympathy from real support. The French philosopher Denis Diderot said that the best actor sits inside his own performance as a cool spectator of the effects he is creating in an audience. Such actors will sense if an audience thinks they are playing a scene too broad, and will rein in the effects. The actor is working at several levels of awareness—fiery in the character's emotions, icy in the adjustment of those emotions to the intended effects on onlookers. Feigned tears must be used to elicit real tears.

Roosevelt's manipulation of others' reactions to his own body perfectly prepared him to be an actor in Diderot's sense. He could change pity into admiration. He could keep intruders into his privacy off guard by a teasing challenge that made them look to their own defenses, too flustered to advert to his problem. He could put people at their ease or deliberately cause discomfort. He controlled people by the use of nicknames (a familiarity not to be reciprocated).

As President, Roosevelt ministered to a sick nation. Economic cures were being proposed on all sides, and Roosevelt was ready to try any of them, often in bewildering succession. He was criticized as an ignoramus because he hesitated between competing promises of cure. But he knew that the soul needed healing first, and the brand of confidence he had instilled in the patients at Warm Springs was the most measurable gift Roosevelt gave to the nation during the Depression. He understood the importance of psychology—that people have to have the courage to keep seeking a cure, no matter what the cure is. America had lost its will to recover, and Roosevelt was certain that regaining it was the first order of business.

In 1932–1933 a long interregnum between the election and a March inauguration was still constitutionally mandated. Poor Herbert Hoover had to lead the country as a lame duck for a third of a year. He tried to recruit Roosevelt's support for measures that FDR was in fact considering and would finally himself take—bank regulation, manipulation of farm prices, monetary control. But Roosevelt would not be drawn into these plans, sound as they might have been. He realized that the nation needed a clean break, a slap in the face, a sense that the past was being repudiated. It took cool nerves to watch the country slide farther into trouble, knowing he would have to pick up the pieces. But Roosevelt was confident to the point of foolhardiness in all his ways, and that was the thing called for in this desperate situation. When he took office, he closed the banks, imposed regulations far-reaching enough to be called (in time) unconstitutional, and filled the nation with a bustle of make-work, fake work, and real work.

**INSTEAD OF SINKING EVERY
BONUS INTO THE LATEST DESIGNER
SUITS, YOU GOT INTO THE
INVESCO INDUSTRIAL INCOME FUND.**

**AND NOW THE ONLY SUITS
YOU WEAR ARE DRIP DRY.**

GREAT REPORTS ON THE INVESCO INDUSTRIAL INCOME FUND KEEP COMING IN BY THE BOATLOAD. LIPPER ANALYTICAL SERVICES RANKED IT THE NUMBER ONE EQUITY-INCOME FUND FOR THE FIVE- AND TEN-YEAR PERIODS THAT ENDED 12/31/93.¹ SMART MONEY MAGAZINE WENT SO FAR AS TO CALL IT THE NUMBER ONE SAFE BET FOR THE '90s.² AND MORNINGSTAR GAVE IT THEIR HIGHEST "5-STAR" RATING.³

OF COURSE, PAST PERFORMANCE IS NO GUARANTEE OF FUTURE RESULTS. BUT THIS NO-LOAD MUTUAL FUND HASN'T HAD A LOSING YEAR IN OVER A DECADE. AND IT'S PAID A DIVIDEND EVERY QUARTER SINCE 1960. NO WONDER INVESTOR'S BUSINESS DAILY RANKED IT IN THE TOP 25 INCOME FUNDS.⁴

SO IF YOU'RE LOOKING FOR A RETIREMENT THAT'S SMOOTH SAILING, TALK TO INVESCO. THEY'VE BEEN HELPING INVESTORS FOR OVER 60 YEARS. CALL FOR A PROSPECTUS ON THE FUND TODAY. YOU'LL RECEIVE MORE COMPLETE INFORMATION, INCLUDING MANAGEMENT FEES AND EXPENSES. READ THE PROSPECTUS CAREFULLY BEFORE YOU INVEST OR SEND MONEY. INVESCO. JUST ONE OF THE SMART CHOICES YOU'VE MADE.SM

INVESCO INDUSTRIAL INCOME FUND ANNUALIZED AVERAGE RETURNS PER \$1,000	
ONE YEAR.....	16.74%
THREE YEAR.....	19.91%
FIVE YEAR	18.08%
TEN YEAR	16.39%
FIFTEEN YEAR.....	17.30%
TWENTY YEAR.....	16.09%



INVESCO FUNDS

**800-320-4525
EXT. 209**

FOR THE FIVE- AND TEN-YEAR PERIODS ENDED 12/31/93, LIPPER ANALYTICAL SERVICES RANKED THE FUND #1 OF 51 AND #1 OF 20 EQUITY-INCOME FUNDS RESPECTIVELY.

SMART MONEY'S DESIGNATION OF FUND AS A "SAFE BET FOR THE '90s" BASED ON PROPRIETARY ANALYSIS OF TEN-YEAR AND YEAR-TO-DATE RISK-ADJUSTED PERFORMANCE AND FUND COMPOSITION.

MORNINGSTAR PROPRIETARY RATING REFLECTS HISTORICAL RISK-ADJUSTED PERFORMANCE FOR INDUSTRIAL INCOME FUND AS OF 12/31/93. THE RATINGS ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE EVERY MONTH. MORNINGSTAR RATINGS ARE CALCULATED BY COMBINING FUND'S THREE-, FIVE- AND TEN-YEAR AVERAGE ANNUAL RETURNS WITH APPROPRIATE FEE ADJUSTMENTS AND A RISK FACTOR THAT REFLECTS PERFORMANCE RELATIVE TO THREE-MONTH TREASURY BILL MONTHLY RETURNS. OF ALL EQUITY-INCOME FUNDS RATED (59), 10% RECEIVE MORNINGSTAR'S "5-STAR" RATING.

INVESTOR'S BUSINESS DAILY RANKED THE FUND #7 AMONG THEIR TOP 25 INCOME FUNDS FOR 1990-1992 AS OF 12/9/93.

TOTAL RETURN ASSUMES REINVESTMENT OF ALL DIVIDEND AND CAPITAL GAIN DISTRIBUTIONS. INVESTMENT RETURN AND PRINCIPAL VALUE WILL FLUCTUATE SO THAT, WHEN REDEEMED, AN INVESTOR'S SHARES MAY BE WORTH MORE OR LESS THAN THEIR ORIGINAL COST. AS OF JANUARY, 1994, JOHN KAWESKE IS NO LONGER A CO-MANAGER OF EITHER THE INDUSTRIAL INCOME FUND OR THE STRATEGIC HEALTH SCIENCES PORTFOLIO. INVESCO FUNDS GROUP, INC., DISTRIBUTOR.

**PRODUCED BY UN2.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED**

**When it comes to European cities,
we outfly the competition on a daily basis.**



Look at any European skyline. On any given day. Chances are you'll spot a Lufthansa plane. That's because Lufthansa flies to over 100 European cities. More than all U.S. airlines combined. And when it comes to Eastern Europe, no one can fly you to more cities than Lufthansa. But that's just half the story. There's our unsurpassed service in the air and on the ground. Our vast global experience and knowing our European neighbors the way no newcomer can. You might just say when it comes to European service, we outfly the competition on a daily basis.

A passion for perfection.®



Lufthansa

For reservations or information call 1-800-645-3880 or see your Travel Agent. Lufthansa is a participant in the mileage programs of United, Delta and USAir.

The patient was resuscitated, up off the bed, moving about. The perception of control and of direction returned to a nation that had felt itself drifting in a windless sea.

From then on Roosevelt would make many deals with the devil in order to keep his hold on those who might respond to his call. Since Congress was controlled by southern chairmen of the indispensable committees, he paid a price for their support—sabotaging anti-lynching planks in the Democratic platforms, putting off civil-rights action except in the public-works programs. The right wing yelled at him the loudest, but the left may have been more deeply disappointed. Social Security was a boon to the worker, but in a regressive form, making the poor pay disproportionately to get what the government was also giving (as a payoff) to the better-off. When Franco took over Spain in a right-wing coup, Roosevelt gave the legitimate government little help, for fear of losing the Catholic component in his Democratic coalition. When dictators came to power in Europe, Roosevelt placated isolationists, not to win their support but to neutralize them for a while. First things first. The audience had to be worked with many strings, and the strings must be kept from tangling.

Those who wanted ideological consistency, or even policy coherence, were rightly exasperated with Roosevelt. He switched economic plans as often as he changed treatments for his polio, and often with as little improvement. Some of his early “brain trust” advisers went off in disgust at his unwillingness to stick by their advice when the polls turned adverse.

The Depression was not really overcome by the New Deal. Its effects were ameliorated, its burdens shifted, its ravages cloaked over, and that kept people going until the world itself was changed drastically by war. The President could not do everything. But Roosevelt stiffened people’s spines to face hardship, even when the hardship did not go away. He knew a good deal about spines. When he wheeled himself up to a war casualty who had had to cut himself free of wreckage by amputating his own legs, Roosevelt said, “I understand you are something of a surgeon. I’m not a bad orthopedist, myself.” Legs spoke to legs. The public did not know the extent of Roosevelt’s impairment; but it knew enough to feel that if he could go on as he did, gaily despite loss, so might they.

SO, to go back to the alternative posed by Neustadt and Hofstadter, which is it to be? The dominating figure or the accommodating one? I am not sure that that choice would have made sense to the patients at Warm Springs. They were certainly dominated by Roosevelt; but they seem to have felt his domination as their own liberation. He did

Great leadership is not a zero-sum game. What is given to the leader is not taken from the follower. Both get by giving. That is the mystery of leaders like Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt.

not prevail by ignoring their demands. If anything, he anticipated those demands, and tailored whatever he said or did to acknowledge and respect and further them. The demands were not all consistent, or sensible, or even constructive in the long run. But Roosevelt was quick to respond to them, ruling none out as beneath his notice or contrary to his program. He prevailed by service to them.

Which does not mean, by a long shot, that he was humble. Mother Teresa never had a potential rival in him. He wanted his own way. But he knew that the way to get it was not to impose it. And by the time he got his way, it turned out to be the way of many followers as well. He could win only by letting them win. Great leadership is not a zero-sum game. What is given to the leader is not taken from the follower. Both get by giving. That is the mystery of great popular leaders like Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt.

The final mystery is that this physically impaired man made his physical characteristics so comforting to a nation facing hardship and war. People drew strength from the very cock of his head, the angle of his cigarette holder, the trademark grin that was a semaphore of hope.

Anti-Type: Adlai Stevenson

IN 1952 liberals who grew up admiring Franklin Roosevelt thought that they had found his rightful successor in Adlai Stevenson. They hoped that he would go to Washington from the governor’s mansion in Springfield as Roosevelt had gone from the governor’s mansion in Albany. Stevenson was from families as socially prominent in Illinois as the Delanos and the Roosevelts were in New York. Roosevelt had grown up with the example of his cousin Theodore always vivid in his mind. Stevenson’s grandfather was a model just as inspiring to him—Adlai E. Stevenson, for whom he was named, had been Grover Cleveland’s Vice President. Stevenson’s father served in Washington with Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, to whom FDR was undersecretary.

The similarities between Roosevelt and Stevenson are eerie—though not all of them were known during Stevenson’s lifetime. Both men were raised by domineering mothers who followed their pampered sons to college. Sara Delano Roosevelt moved to Boston during the winters when Franklin was a junior and senior at Harvard. Helen Davis

Stevenson rented a house in Princeton, near where Adlai was going to classes. Both Roosevelt and Stevenson were poor students who had trouble getting through law school—Roosevelt never did get his degree at Columbia, and Stevenson flunked out of Harvard Law.

Both men wed socially proper wives from whom they were estranged by the time they had national careers—the Roosevelts ceased having conjugal relations after Eleanor discovered Franklin's love affair with Lucy Mercer, and the Stevensons were divorced. Each man depended on the ministrations of a devout female acolyte—Missy Le Hand was Roosevelt's indispensable social secretary—nurse—companion as he made his comeback from polio, and Dorothy Fosdick, of the State Department, helped assemble Stevenson's foreign-policy brain trust for the 1952 presidential campaign.

Though neither was much of a reader or writer, Roosevelt and Stevenson enjoyed the company of people who were, and delivered the speeches they wrote with great style. Neither was an ideologue, but both were progressive enough to be praised and damned as left-liberals. They were moderate reformers in their terms as governor, though both had been elected with the help of strong state machines—Tammany in New York and Jacob Arvey's Chicago organization in Illinois. (Arvey ordered Stevenson to run for governor after Stevenson had decided to run for senator.)

The liberals of 1952 were *almost* right—they almost got another Roosevelt. Stevenson was Roosevelt without the polio—and that made all the difference. He remained the diletante and ladies' man all his life. Roosevelt was a mama's boy who was forced to grow up. Stevenson had noble ideals—as had the young Roosevelt, for that matter. But Stevenson felt that the way to implement them was to present himself as a thoughtful idealist and wait for the world to flock to him. He considered it beneath him, or wrong, to scramble out among the people and ask what *they* wanted. Roosevelt grasped voters to him. Stevenson shied from them. Some thought him too pure to desire power, though he showed ambition when it mattered. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who wrote speeches for Stevenson and worked for him in the 1952 and 1956 campaigns, thought that Stevenson might feel guilty about wielding power because he had accidentally killed a playmate when he wielded the power of a gun in his boyhood.

Stevenson believed in the Periclean ideal of leadership—that a man should be above the pressures of the multitude, telling people uncomfortable truths. His admiring brain trust found this charming at first, but concluded that he overdid it. As Schlesinger said, "It was a brilliant device to establish Stevenson's identity. As a permanent device, it was an error." Stevenson kept some distance from the crowd by making "inside" comments that played to the intellectuals. This, too, got on the nerves of his entourage. Carl McGowan, the head of Stevenson's staff, had these rueful memories: "His wit was not as great as it was popularly assumed to be, but it

was not as damaging as was believed, either. He always had a risky sense of humor—some of it was not funny at all."

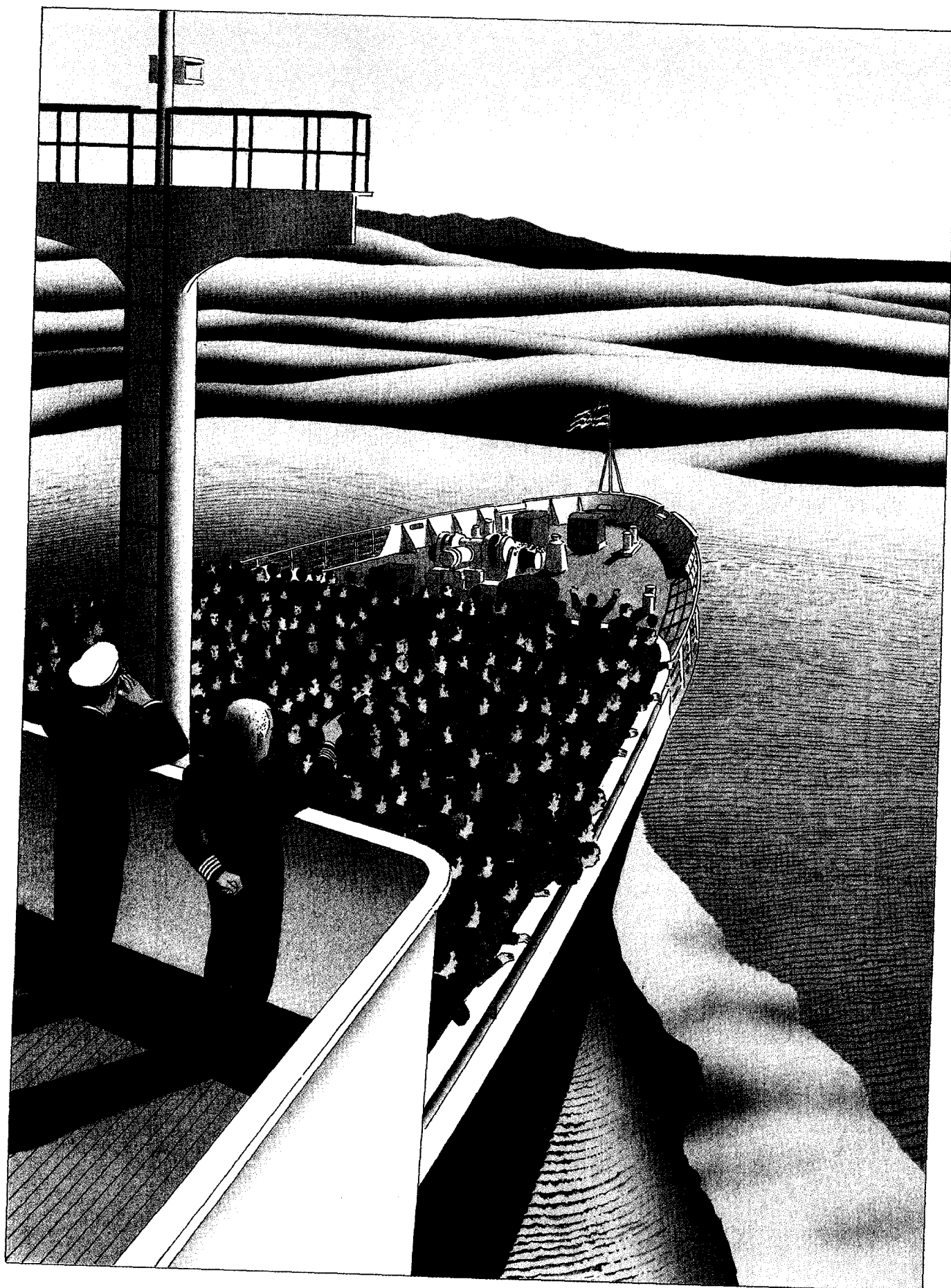
Liberal intellectuals stayed true to Stevenson in the 1950s, despite misgivings, because they were horrified by what they took to be the anti-intellectual alternative of Dwight D. Eisenhower. It was literally inconceivable to these people that a rational electorate would prefer Ike to Adlai—which shows how far out of touch they were with the American people, and just how far Stevenson was from Roosevelt. Louis Howe, Roosevelt's great admirer-manager, would have had no trouble understanding Ike's appeal.

Not only did Stevenson think voters should come to him instead of he to them, but once in office he thought the power of the office would be self-enacting. He did not realize that it is only what one *makes of* the office that creates real followers. Installed as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, he clung to that position, with the perks he relished (parties every night, a delightful "harem" of adoring ladies), though his liberal friends repeatedly urged him to resign rather than keep on defending American actions in Cuba, Latin America, and Indochina.

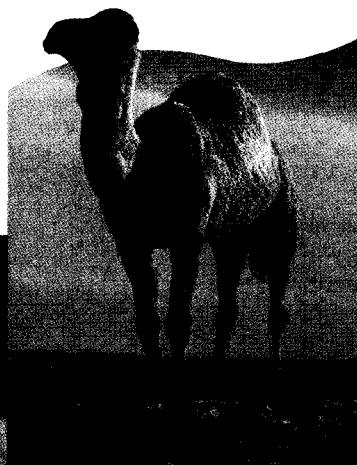
When Stevenson found that he had presented false information to the world in the aftermath of his government's invasion of Cuba (at the Bay of Pigs), he was indignant that his own President had lied to him. He went to the New York apartment of his friend Alistair Cooke, the British journalist, and poured out his trouble over a drink. Cooke tried to comfort him with the thought that men who resigned from intolerable situations have made their contribution to history. Stevenson was shocked at the mere suggestion he would resign. That would be burning his boats, Cooke says he replied. Even then Stevenson did not grasp his real position with John F. Kennedy, who treated him like a patsy because he considered him one.

Later, when the left broke from Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy, Stevenson doggedly defended it. The journalist Murray Kempton, writing in the name of former Stevenson supporters, sent a private letter to Adlai begging him to resign. The government was telling lies. "The need now is for commoners, for men out of office. . . . I know that I am asking you to do one more messy and exhausting thing; but could you come out here and lead us?" But Stevenson was having too much fun on the embassy party rounds. His doctor warned him that his sybaritic life was a form of suicide. Friends were telling him the same thing. He died after a diplomats' lunch in London, at age sixty-five.

Roosevelt, too, drove himself to an early death (sixty-three), but that was in his grueling fourth term as President during the Second World War. His talents had been put to maximum use because he could find common ground with those he sought to lead. He succeeded not by being a Pericles, as Thucydides presents Pericles, but by being what some of Pericles' defenders called a "demagogue." The word means, etymologically, "people-leader." ☛



EVEN
WITHOUT
A DROP
OF ENGINE
COOLANT,
IT CREATES
A HIGHER
STANDARD.



*You have no water or coolant.
You have 50 miles of desert to
cross. You have two choices.
You can ride or drive.*

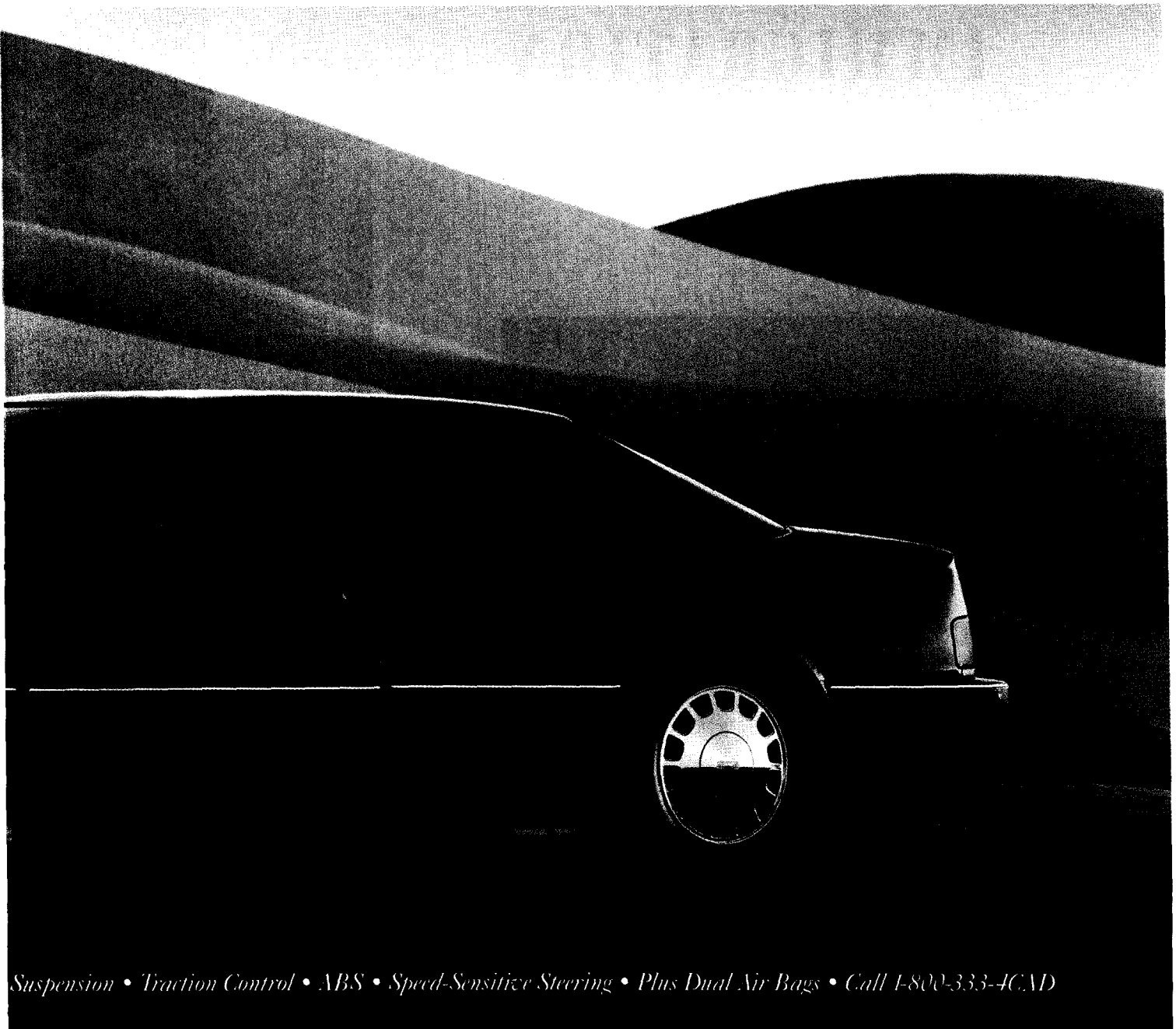


Northstar System: 32-Valve, 295-HP V8 • Road-Sensing

SEVILLE STS
CREATING A HIGHER STANDARD



Always wear safety belts, even with air bags. © 1993 GM Corp. All rights reserved. CADILLAC® NORTHSTAR® SEVILLE®



Suspension • Traction Control • ABS • Speed-Sensitive Steering • Plus Dual Air Bags • Call 1-800-333-4CAD

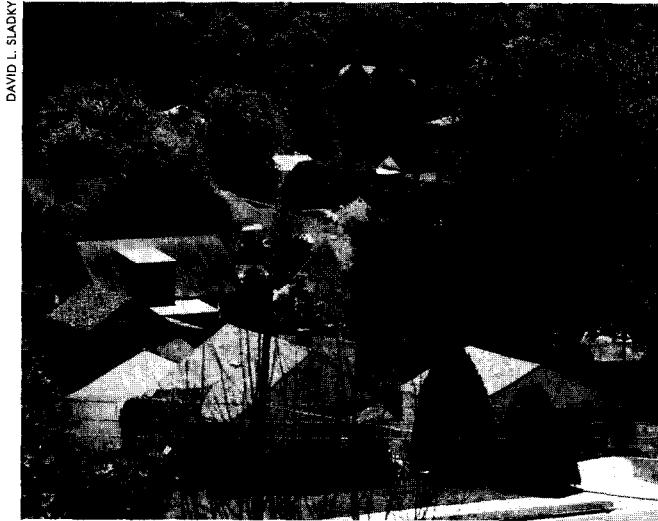
In almost any car, a total loss of coolant could leave you stranded. But not in the Seville STS with the Northstar System by Cadillac. Because its patented Northstar

V8 is so adaptive that, if necessary for your safety, it is engineered to sense major engine coolant loss automatically. It then begins alternately firing and air-cooling

its two banks of cylinders to help prevent overheating. The result: you could travel up to 50 miles—even in desert heat—without a single drop of coolant.

THE ORDEAL OF IMMIGRATION IN WAUSAU

by ROY BECK



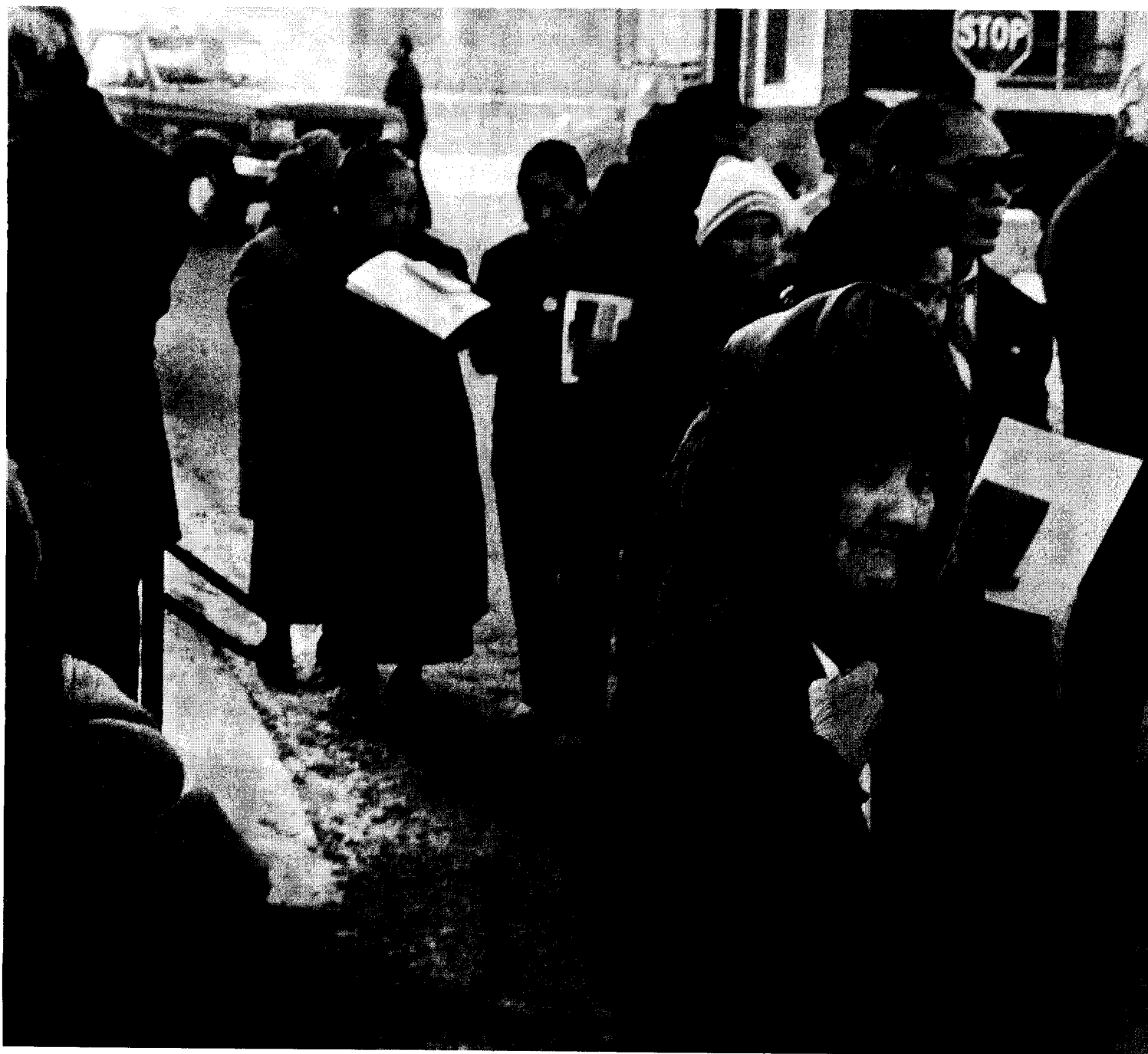
DAVID L. SLADKY

*Since 1970 the majority
of population growth in the United States
has come from immigrants and
their direct descendants. Demographers
predict that this trend will intensify in the new
century if federal laws remain
unchanged. For a look at a possible
American future,
consider the fate of a small
midwestern city*

LEONARD FREED/MAGNUM



IT all began simply enough, when a few churches and individuals in Wausau, Wisconsin, decided to resettle some Southeast Asian refugees during the late 1970s. To most residents, it seemed like a nice thing to do. Nobody meant to plant the seeds for a social transformation. But this small and private charitable gesture inadvertently set into motion events that many residents today feel are spinning out of control. Wausau—the county seat of the nation's champion milk-producing county—has learned that once the in-



flux starts, there's little chance to stop it. Regardless of how many newcomers failed to find jobs in this north-central Wisconsin city of 37,500, or how abraded the social fabric became, the immigrant population just kept growing.

In little more than a decade the immigrant families' children have come to make up almost a quarter of the elementary schools' enrollment, crowding facilities past their limits—and there's no peak in sight. The majority of immigrant students are Southeast Asians, and most of these are from the nomadic

Hmong mountain tribes of Laos, which unsuccessfully tried to prevent a Communist takeover of their homeland some twenty years ago. Seventy percent of the immigrants and their descendants are receiving public assistance, because the local labor market has not been able to accommodate them. Religious and other private agencies—which, through federal agreements, create most of the refugee streams into American communities—are pledged to care for the newcomers for only thirty days.

Native-born taxpayers must shoulder

Members of the Wausau Area Hmong Mutual Association, a civic group, tour a factory in Wausau

most of the rising costs of providing more infrastructure, public services, teachers, and classrooms for the burgeoning community of immigrants, who make up relatively little of the tax base. In 1992 alone the Wausau school district's property-tax rate rose 10.48 percent—three times as much as taxes in an adjoining school district with few immigrants.

"At first, most saw the new residents

as novel and neat; people felt good about it," Fred Prehn, a dentist and the father of two school-age children, told me during a visit I made to Wausau some months ago. At the time we spoke, he was the senior member of Wausau's school board. "Now we're beginning to see gang violence and guns in the schools. Immigration has inspired racism here that I never thought we had." Prehn accused religious agencies of swelling the immigrant population without regard to the city's capacity for assimilation. He said that the numbers and concentration of newcomers had forced the school board into a corner from which busing was the only escape. English was becoming the minority spoken language in several schools. Many native-born parents feared that their children's education was being compromised by the language-instruction confusion; many immigrant parents complained that their children couldn't be assimilated properly in schools where the immigrant population was so high. For two years citizens were polarized by the prospect of busing—something that would have been inconceivable in 1980. Divisions deepened last September, when the school board initiated the busing, and again in December, when voters recalled Prehn and four other board members, replacing them with a slate of anti-busing candidates. Community divisions are likely to persist, since busing supporters threaten lawsuits if the new board ends the busing.

Even more of a shock has been the emergence of organized gang activity. Wausau Detective Sergeant Paul Jicinsky told me that Asian gangs of thieves, centered in St. Paul and Milwaukee, have recruited immigrant youths in Wausau. Most small Wisconsin cities started Asian-refugee resettlement programs at the prodding of government and religious leaders a decade or so ago, and most are now part of a Crime Information Exchange that, Jicinsky said, had been

established almost exclusively to keep track of Asian gang activity in Minnesota and Wisconsin. Hmong parents, lamenting that their difficulty with English impedes their exercise of authority over their children, were at the forefront of those asking the police to combat gang activity. The cycle of community tensions spins round as native youths link up with outside white gangs to respond to Asian gangs. Compared with the urban core of many big cities, Wausau remains quite a peaceful place. But the comparison that matters for most residents is with the Wausau that used to be. "We don't want to become another California," a Wausau businessman told me. It's a fear often expressed as residents grapple with the problems familiar to America's congested coastal urban areas after nearly three decades of federally sponsored mass immigration and refugee resettlement.

At the same time, frustration grows among immigrants whose economic assimilation is dramatically incomplete. That frustration, in combination with resentment among natives over taxes and busing, seems to be the cause of inter-ethnic violence among the young. The violence takes varied forms. A dance at Wausau East High School, for instance, had to be canceled just as it was starting because of a fight between immigrant and native girls which was serious enough that an am-

An immigrant Hmong family on the street where they now live



LEONARD FREED/MAGNUM

balance had to be called. Mayor John D. Hess, in a newsletter to all residents, wrote,

Is there a problem with groups/gangs of school age kids in Wausau? Emphatically, yes. The number of incidents involving group violence leads all of us to believe that groups of school age kids are organizing for whatever reasons. . . . Is there a problem relating to racial tensions in Wausau? Emphatically, yes.

The 1980 U.S. Census found Wausau to be the most ethnically homogeneous city in the nation, with less than one percent of the population other than white. "This was a very nice thriving community; now immigration problems have divided the town and changed it drastically," Sandy Edelman, a mother of preschool-age children, told me. "Neighborhood is pitted against neighborhood. When we were moving here, a few years ago, I had this image of children walking to school. It was paradise, we thought. We never thought it was possible there ever could be busing in these schools."

A MIDDLE-CLASS DREAM

ALTHOUGH Wausau is not marked by splashy displays of wealth, the word "paradise" crops up in wistful descriptions of the recent past by all types of residents, including immigrants. They obviously

aren't talking about some idyllic South Seas utopia. What they have in mind seems to be a kind of pragmatic middle-class American dream, in which labor produced a comfortable standard of living in a community that was under the control of its residents and where there existed a safe, predictable domestic tranquillity in which to rear children and nearby open spaces for north-country recreation. It was a way of life created by the descendants of Ger-

Choose The IRA With Fidelity's Proven Fund Performance

At Fidelity, we are committed to offering you an IRA where performance and value come first. We think you'll agree that no one can give you more for your IRA today.

Bring Our Equity Experience To Your IRA . . .

That's why we offer you a full range of stock funds with performance records that speak for themselves. You can choose from funds that take a balanced path to income and long-term growth, to those that take a more

Compare These Equity Choices For Your IRA

	Average Annual Returns †			Morningstar* Rating
	1 Year	5 Year	Life of Fund	
Fidelity Puritan Fund	21.45%	14.34%	14.65% (10 Year)	★★★ ★★
Fidelity Equity-Income II Fund	18.89%	—	25.85% (8/21/90 – 12/31/93)	★★★ ★★
Fidelity Growth & Income Portfolio	15.94%	17.25%	18.47% (12/30/85 – 12/31/93)	★★★ ★★
Fidelity Contrafund	17.78%	25.77%	17.30% (10 Year)	★★★ ★★

aggressive growth approach. Each fund is backed by the management expertise that's helped make Fidelity America's largest stock fund manager.¹

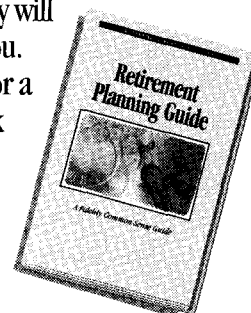
The No-Load No-Fee IRA – Our Best Retirement Offer Ever

Fidelity has waived the sales charges on more than a dozen stock funds for your IRA.² And we've also waived the IRA fee on mutual fund accounts with a balance of \$5,000 or more held in a Fidelity IRA,³ or if you trade at least twice in your Fidelity Brokerage IRA.⁴ Call for more details.

Transfer Your Retirement Savings to Fidelity

Whether you are transferring your IRA or rolling over an eligible distribution from an employer's plan, Fidelity will help make it easy for you.

Simply call today for a free IRA fact kit and ask about our free *Retirement Planning Guide*. Complete and return your application and transfer form, and we'll handle the details.



Visit a Fidelity Investor Center
or Call 24 Hours

1-800-544-1375



2r

For more complete information including charges and expenses call for a free prospectus. Read it carefully before you invest or send money. †Total returns for the period ended 12/31/93 are historical and include change in share price and reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. Returns for Growth & Income Portfolio and Contrafund include the effects of the funds' 3% sales charge. Returns for Puritan Fund would have been lower if its 2% sales load had been deducted. Past performance is no guarantee of future results. Share price and return will vary and you may have a gain or loss when you sell your shares. *Morningstar proprietary ratings reflect historical risk-adjusted performance as of December 31, 1993. The ratings are subject to change every month. Morningstar ratings are calculated from the funds' three-, five-, and 10-year average annual returns including loads, if appropriate, and a risk factor that reflects fund performance relative to three-month Treasury bill monthly returns. Ten percent of the funds in an asset class receive five stars. †Fidelity manages over \$125 billion in equity assets. ‡This offer applies to certain retirement plans marketed and distributed directly by Fidelity. Fidelity Magellan® Fund, Fidelity New Millennium™ Fund and Fidelity Select Portfolios® are excluded. †For Fidelity mutual fund IRAs, the \$10 annual IRA maintenance fee will be waived for mutual fund IRA accounts of \$5,000 or more at the time of the fee billing. For Fidelity Self-directed IRAs, the \$20 fee will be waived if any Fidelity mutual fund position is at least \$5,000 at the time of the fee billing or, if any fund position available without transaction fees through FundsNetwork™ is at least \$5,000 at the time of the billing. †For 1994, the waiver is based on trades from 11/1/93 through 10/31/94, and applies to any two trades made in Fidelity retirement accounts in your name. Trades in mutual funds and limited partnerships are excluded. You must have a Fidelity prototype plan with an FDIC insured custodian/trustee to qualify. Fidelity Distributors Corporation. Fidelity Brokerage Services, Inc., Member NYSE, SIPC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man and Polish immigrants and New England Yankee migrants, who by 1978 had spent roughly a century getting used to one another and creating a unified culture.

On my visit to Wausau, I found some anger. But the overwhelming emotion seemed to be sadness about a social revolution that the community as a whole had never requested or even discussed. While most residents spoke well of the immigrants as individuals, they thought that the volume of immigration had crossed some kind of social and economic threshold. Many sensed that their way of life is slipping away, overwhelmed by outside forces they are helpless to stop.

Wausau leaders describe their city prior to 1978 as one with no social tensions and only traces of crime. Residents enjoyed a long tradition of progressive politics, education, and business. A healthy match between the labor force and well-paying jobs was the result of a diverse economy heavily reliant on the Wausau Insurance Companies and the manufacture of windows, paper, cheese, electric motors and generators, fast-food-outlet exhaust fans, and garden tools.

In the eyes of some residents, though, this "paradise" may well have been boring. "This was a rather sterile community, and we needed ethnic diversity," says Phyllis A. Bermingham, the director of the county department that administers the jobs program for welfare recipients. "I'm glad Wausau had major refugee resettlement. It has added so much variety." Sue Kettner, who is in charge of refugee services at a family-planning agency, says, "I have a dream that Wausau will become uniquely cosmopolitan and take advantage of its diversity." The until-recently "sterile" and homogeneous Wausau-area schools now enroll students from Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, China, the Philippines, Korea, Japan, Norway, Albania, Egypt, the former East Germany, the former Yugoslavia, and the former Czechoslovakia.

The idea of a moratorium on immigration comes up often in discussions in Wausau. But many people told me

that they don't raise the idea in public, because they believe that religious, media, and government leaders would readily label any kind of criticism of immigration a manifestation of racism. From 1924 until 1965 the nation's immigration laws prevented foreign migration from reshaping the social landscape of American communities. The laws no longer do. Wausau is but one example of the results of radically modified laws, and many residents are astonished at the rapidity and relentlessness of change.

From a few dozen refugees in 1978, Wausau's immigrant community grew to 200 by 1980, doubled from there by 1982, and doubled again by 1984. Since then it has more than quintupled, to reach roughly 4,200. Even if the influx slows, Southeast Asians may become the majority population in Wausau well within the present residents' lifetimes. In this, Wausau is not unique but only an indicator of the demographic effects of current immigrant streams in the nation as a whole.

FIRST STREAM: REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

WHEN they agreed to become local resettlement sponsors, in the late 1970s, Wausau congregations did not simply provide refuge for a few Hmong, Lao, and Vietnamese families; they also inadvertently created a channel through which the federal government could send a continuing stream of refugees. "In the beginning we had no concept of what this would turn into," says Jean Russell, a county official who helps administer public assistance to some 2,900 local immigrants.

Wausau residents discovered that the refugees invited to stay in their home town soon began issuing their own invitations and serving as local sponsors for their relatives. (Around the same time, the congregations ceased serving as formal sponsors.) The cost of inviting was low, since government agencies paid nearly all the new arrivals' expenses. And for the same reason the

lack of jobs was no deterrent to invitations. The first wave of refugees thus sent for more.

The resettlement stream shows no sign of drying up. The main source of Hmong immigrants is refugee camps in Thailand that were set up nineteen years ago, after the long Indochina wars. But there are still roughly 20,000 Hmong in the Thai camps today. Thailand insists that it should not have to continue to provide refuge.

United Nations workers continue to move people out of the camps. Inasmuch as there are already more than 40 million refugees and displaced persons worldwide, the primary UN solution has to be repatriation to the refugees' original home country. UN officials consider permanent resettlement in another country to be a last resort. And they and others say that it is now safe for the Hmong to return home. According to a State Department spokeswoman, "The United States believes the Hmong can go back to Laos. We have been watching [repatriations] all along. Our people investigate. There never has been one verifiable story of anybody being persecuted for having been repatriated."

But that does not mean that the Hmong resettlement into the United States will stop. The spokeswoman explains that current U.S. policy leaves the decision up to the Hmong in the camps. If they decide they don't want to go back home to Laos, they will be put into a pool for American resettlement, even though there is no reasonable suspicion that they face the threat of persecution in Laos. (This is not unusual: the majority of refugees coming into the United States do not meet a "last resort" criterion for resettlement.) If most of the Hmong decide against returning to Laos, one U.S. official estimates, 19,000 may be put into U.S. resettlement channels. That may not sound like much when compared with the number of immigrants into the United States as a whole, but for a community like Wausau, where refugees have already settled and where future refugees will surely go, the potential impact of 19,000 is great.

SECOND STREAM: SECONDARY MIGRATION

CITIES where refugees were resettled tend to be rewarded with a secondary migration of refugees who have first been settled elsewhere in the United States. "They heard how good it was here and moved from big cities, mostly from California, because of the crime, unemployment, and overcrowding," Yi Vang, who was first settled in Memphis and moved to Wausau in 1983, told me. Jean Russell, of the county welfare department, emphasized in our conversation that "they are really nice people," but nonetheless shook her head in consternation at the additional burden that secondary migration puts on the social-service system. "Why do so many come here?" she asked, and answered her own question: "This is sort of the right-sized city. It is a wonderful place to live." Wisconsin's generous welfare system is a big draw. A study by the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute found that when the federal government began to cut back its relief benefits to refugees, in 1982, large numbers of refugees sought out the states that provided the best Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments. Wisconsin became a popular destination.

One branch of the secondary-migration stream that provides just a trickle now will potentially add a considerable flow: As the refugees become citizens, the 1965 Immigration Act and its successors give them the right to bring in members of their extended families through regular immigration channels. A continuous chain of immigration can ensue, as it already has among many nationalities, particularly in several coastal states.



DAVID L. SLADKY



COURTESY OF MARATHON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Home": for many in Wausau the word evokes a different place. Downtown (above) in the 1950s

THIRD STREAM: HIGH IMMIGRANT FERTILITY

NATIVES in Wausau complain about the size of Hmong families. John Weeks, the director of the International Population Center, at San Diego State University, and a colleague have studied the Hmong and believe that their birth rate in this country may be one of the highest of any ethnic group in the world.

Unremarkable in Wausau would be a twenty-two-year-old Hmong woman with five kids who comes to Family Planning Health Services for a pregnancy test and contraceptive advice,

Sue Kettner says. She says that part of the reason for the big families is the terrible misery and high death rate the Hmong suffered during their long fight with the Communists. "I talked to one man whose parents and four brothers and sisters were dead," Kettner told me. "He was having ten children. He wasn't willing to contracept."

Life in America boosts Hmong infant-survival rates beyond what they were in Asia, Weeks says, and the Hmong have lower infant-mortality rates than African-American natives because they have better access to social services and their culture encourages positive prenatal behavior. "They don't smoke, drink, or get fat during pregnancy," he says.

"We find the girls' periods start as early as the third grade," says Lynell Anderson, the coordinator of the Wausau schools' English as a Second Language program. "We've had pregnant sixth-graders." Pregnancies in junior high school are not uncommon.

Although such cultural patterns would not be so noticeable in Los Angeles or New York City, they are conspicuous and jarring to many Wausau parents concerned about the future of the Hmong girls and about the effects on their own children. Marilyn Fox, an ESL teacher, was quoted in the local newspaper in 1992 lamenting pregnancies in her junior high. The article pointed out that such pregnancies conflict directly with Wisconsin law, which invalidates the consent to intercourse given by anyone under sixteen. And anyone sixteen or older who impregnates an underage girl is guilty of a felony. Fox and a colleague complained that none of the Hmong men or boys impregnating the girls were being prosecuted. But many communities find it difficult to impose American

standards of behavior on people who claim membership in another culture.

At one point Anderson sat down with some other teachers to take an informal look at the list of Hmong girls in high school. They calculated that 35 percent were pregnant or already had children. That, of course, didn't include the Hmong mothers who had dropped out of school. Few kids marry without having children immediately, and the Hmong culture of arranged marriages ensures that pregnant girls get married to somebody. Single-parent families—which some officials identify as a growing social problem among Wausau natives—are virtually nonexistent among the Hmong. The availability of infant formula may also contribute to the high fertility: "We've heard the Hmong in Laos have kids three years apart, because of breast-feeding. But here it is every one or one and a half years, because women have moved to formula to be more modern," Kettner says. All the various factors add up to substantial population growth. The *Wausau Daily Herald* cited a striking statistic from the 1990 Census which illustrates the widely disparate fertility rates: 7.7 percent of European-Ameri-

can natives in Wausau were under the age of six, as were 30 percent of residents of Southeast Asian origin.

Both Weeks and Kettner see signs that the fertility rate is likely to come down. "The Hmong Association has a very positive view of family planning," Kettner says, "because it sees the economic need for women to work." Tou Yang, a young case manager for the county program that finds jobs for people on welfare, says that high fertility forces some people to stay on public assistance because a low-wage job won't replace lost welfare benefits, which can be sizable for large families. Total public assistance (AFDC, food stamps, Medicaid, and housing and energy subsidies) for a Hmong family can be worth more than \$20,000 a year, according to local officials. The welfare-use rate for immigrants in the county is sixteen times as high as it is for natives.

Yang says that some of the Hmong talk about having small families, but their idea of small is generally four children. That is a bit higher than what the demographer Leon Bouvier, in his book *Fifty Million Californians?*, says is the Latino fertility rate, which is such an important contributor to that state's

rapid population growth. At four the population will still soar. A couple in a four-child culture has eight times as many great-grandchildren as a couple in a two-child culture.

POPULATION AND TAXES

IN 1978 Wausau taxpayers were beginning to enjoy the fruits of the replacement-level fertility that Americans had adopted during the emergence of modern environmentalism and feminism, early in the decade. Gone were the days of the Baby Boom and a perpetual need to build lots more schools, sewers, streets, and so on. Government could direct its energy toward maintaining and improving the quality of existing institutions. The student population had stabilized and even declined some.

But in 1994 the Wausau public school system is struggling to handle an increase of more than 1,500 students in less than a decade, nearly all of them children of immigrants. Although some schools were closed in the late 1970s, according to Berland Meyer, the assistant superintendent of schools, everything available is in use now, and classrooms are bursting at their proverbial seams. Taxpayers at first refused to get back on the building treadmill, rejecting tax increases in 1990. But they later approved one that led to the opening of a \$15 million middle school last fall. A \$4.5 million addition to the old middle school has just been completed as well. Meyer says that taxpayers still need to provide another \$3.5–\$4.5 million for a new elementary school. Unfortunately, all this construction will handle only immediate population growth.

Wausau's experience, although relatively uncommon in the Midwest, is quite common among American communities of the 1980s and 1990s. The majority of U.S. population growth since 1970 has come from immigrants and their descendants. They will probably contribute two thirds of the growth during this decade and nearly all of it after the turn of the century if federal policies remain the same.

MAN EATING

The man at the table across from mine
is eating yogurt. His eyes, following
the progress of the spoon, cross briefly
each time it nears his face. Time,

and the world with all its principalities,
might come to an end as prophesied
by the Apostle John, but what about
this man, so completely present

to the little carton with its cool,
sweet food, which has caused no animal
to suffer, and which he is eating
with a pearl-white plastic spoon.

—JANE KENYON

THIS PAGE SPONSORED BY FORD DIVISION

SEASON PREVIEW

North America's Film Festivals

NEW DIRECTORS/ NEW FILMS SERIES

March 18–April 3
New York, New York

For 22 years the Film Society of Lincoln Center and the film department of The Museum of Modern Art have cooperated to present the New Directors/New Films series. Although the series is renowned for discovering new talent, which has included Steven Spielberg, Spike Lee, Pedro Almodóvar, Sally Potter, and Hou Hsiao-hsien, it also brings well-deserved recognition to overlooked film artists. Film Society President Roy Furman says, "The series accomplishes one of the most important objectives for any film society: nurturing undiscovered talent and helping that talent win acceptance and support." For information call (212) 875-5626.

SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

April 28–May 12
San Francisco, California

The San Francisco International Film Festival, the Western Hemisphere's oldest, is now in its 37th year and continues to grow in popularity. Last year 63,000 film enthusiasts attended the festival, which featured more than 80 films in 23 languages from 41 countries. Each year the program consists largely of movies without distributors—which thus may never make it to the neighborhood theater. The two-week program is regarded as broad and audience-oriented and is presented in three parts: the noncompetitive, invitational section; the Golden Gate Awards competition, which attracts entries from around the world; and a tribute section, which includes the Akira Kurosawa Lifetime



Achievement Award. For information call (415) 931-FILM.

SEATTLE INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

May 20–June 12
Seattle, Washington

Billed as a festival that belongs to its audience, the Seattle International Film Festival presents 140 features and roughly 40 short films from 35 countries. It is both the largest and the longest film festival in the United States, last year drawing more than 100,000 filmgoers over 23 days. The program showcases new directors, contemporary world cinema, short film, archival film, and children's film. But by far the most popular portion of the program is the Secret Festival, which presents four surprise screenings of works-in-progress or world premieres. Seattle has become a preferred first North American stop for films recently premiered at Cannes. Festival-related galas and post-screening discussions are open to regular ticket-holders. For information call (206) 324-9996.

TELLURIDE FILM FESTIVAL

September 2–5
Telluride, Colorado

This annual Labor Day event has been called "God's own multiplex." It is difficult to imagine a more heavenly setting than this one, nestled in an enchanted valley in Colorado's San Juan range. But it is the Telluride program that draws an exclusive audience of 3,500 people each year. Telluride is regarded as an anti-hype, scholarly festival, which is why the program of about 30 films making their U.S. premieres remains secret until the festival begins. An atmosphere of privileged intimacy characterizes the event—daily open-air seminars allow directors to converse with audiences. For information call (603) 643-1255.

FESTIVAL OF FESTIVALS

September 8–17
Toronto, Ontario

Neither a purely commercial showcase nor an exclusively high-brow one, Toronto's Festival

of Festivals has become an ideal platform from which to launch films into the vast English-speaking North American market. The main reason is the festival's size—250,000 people (mostly amateur cinema enthusiasts) attend to catch a glimpse of films to come. Industry insiders come to hear their reactions. As a proving ground for American tastes, Toronto can determine how a major film is marketed or whether an obscure art film is distributed at all. The 1994 festival will include close to 300 films. In addition to the 18–20 big-ticket gala films, Asian, Latin American, and amateur films will be showcased. For information call (416) 967-7371.

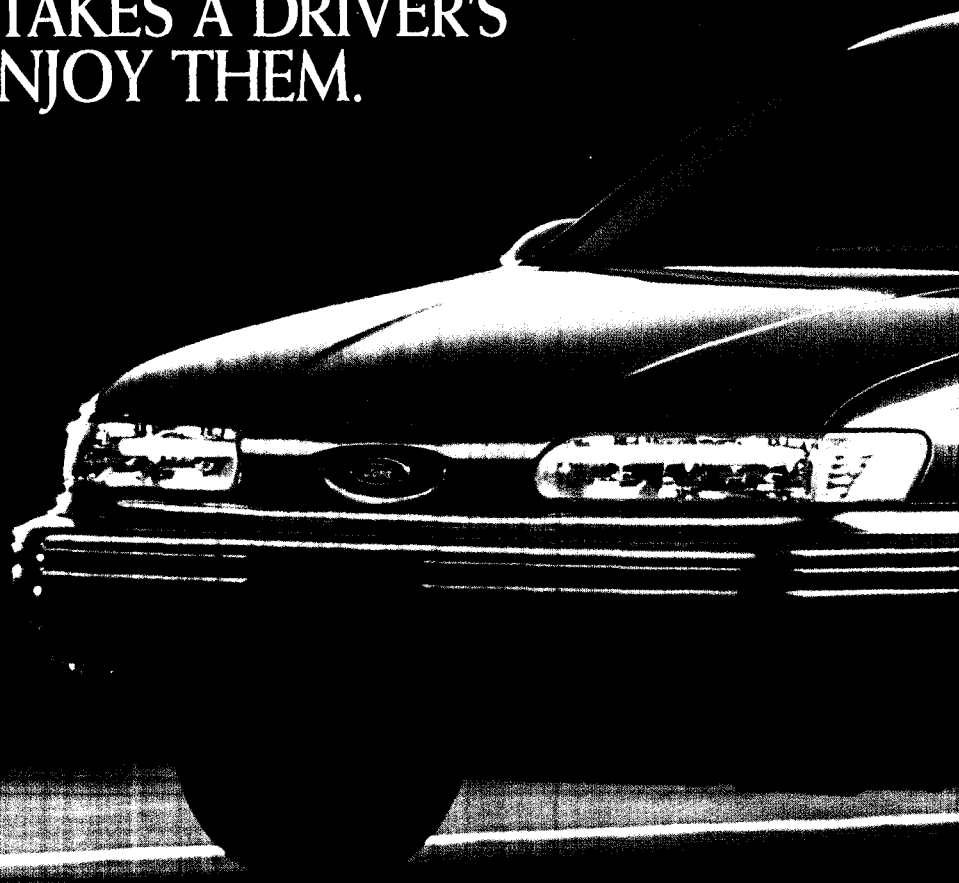
NEW YORK FILM FESTIVAL

September 23–October 9
New York, New York

In its 32-year history the New York Film Festival has cultivated a reputation as the nation's most prestigious. Although other festivals have grown to include well over 100 films, the New York Film Festival remains intensely selective, this year featuring about 25. The result is an unusually coherent program of exceptional films chosen with a unity of vision. As the program director, Richard Peña, puts it, "We show what we like." With many of the featured filmmakers in attendance, the festival occasions lively discussion between audiences and artists. A new festival tradition continues this year—"Video Visions: The Third Annual Celebration of International Video Art." It will focus on both new and established film artists, many of them from Latin America and the Eastern bloc, working with video. For information call (212) 875-5626.

EXPLAINING ITS 50 REFINEMENTS
TAKES AN ENGINEERING DEGREE.

BUT IT ONLY TAKES A DRIVER'S
LICENSE TO ENJOY THEM.



FORD TAURUS
AMERICA'S
BEST-SELLING CAR.
AGAIN.

Most people would look at building America's best-selling car* as the ultimate achievement. Our engineers looked at it as a good start. Instead of putting Ford Taurus on a pedestal, they put it under a magnifying glass, and

found over 50 ways to make it even better. Their improvements include "an additional supplemental restraint system," "enlarged rotors" and "revised spring/stabilizer bars"—engineer talk that translates with the turn of a key into

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



“new standard passenger air bag,”** “better braking performance” and “more responsive ride and handling.” Everyone can appreciate refinements like that.

EVERY 1994 FORD COMES WITH OUR ROADSIDE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.†

We’ve also engineered a better way to keep you on the road. Help is only a toll-free call away if you should have a flat tire, run out of gas or lock your keys in the car.

HAVE YOU DRIVEN A FORD LATELY?



*Based on 1993 CY manufacturer's reported retail deliveries.
**Always wear your safety belt.
†3 years/36,000 miles. See dealer for details.

FALSE PROMISES

ON a main road into downtown, an ALL-AMERICAN CITY sign reminds residents and visitors alike that Wausau is not inherently incapable of rising to the challenge of assimilating new residents. It was doing a fine job in 1984, when it won the award commemorated by the sign.

Nearby is another sign. WELCOME HOME TO WAUSAU, this one says, in the homespun way of small cities. It is more than a cliché to say that many natives no longer feel at home here, even as newcomers feel less than welcome. It is noteworthy, however, that when natives told me longingly of a lost "home," most seemed to refer not to the Wausau of 1978, before the refugee influx, but to the Wausau of 1984, when the influx was at a level that still consti-

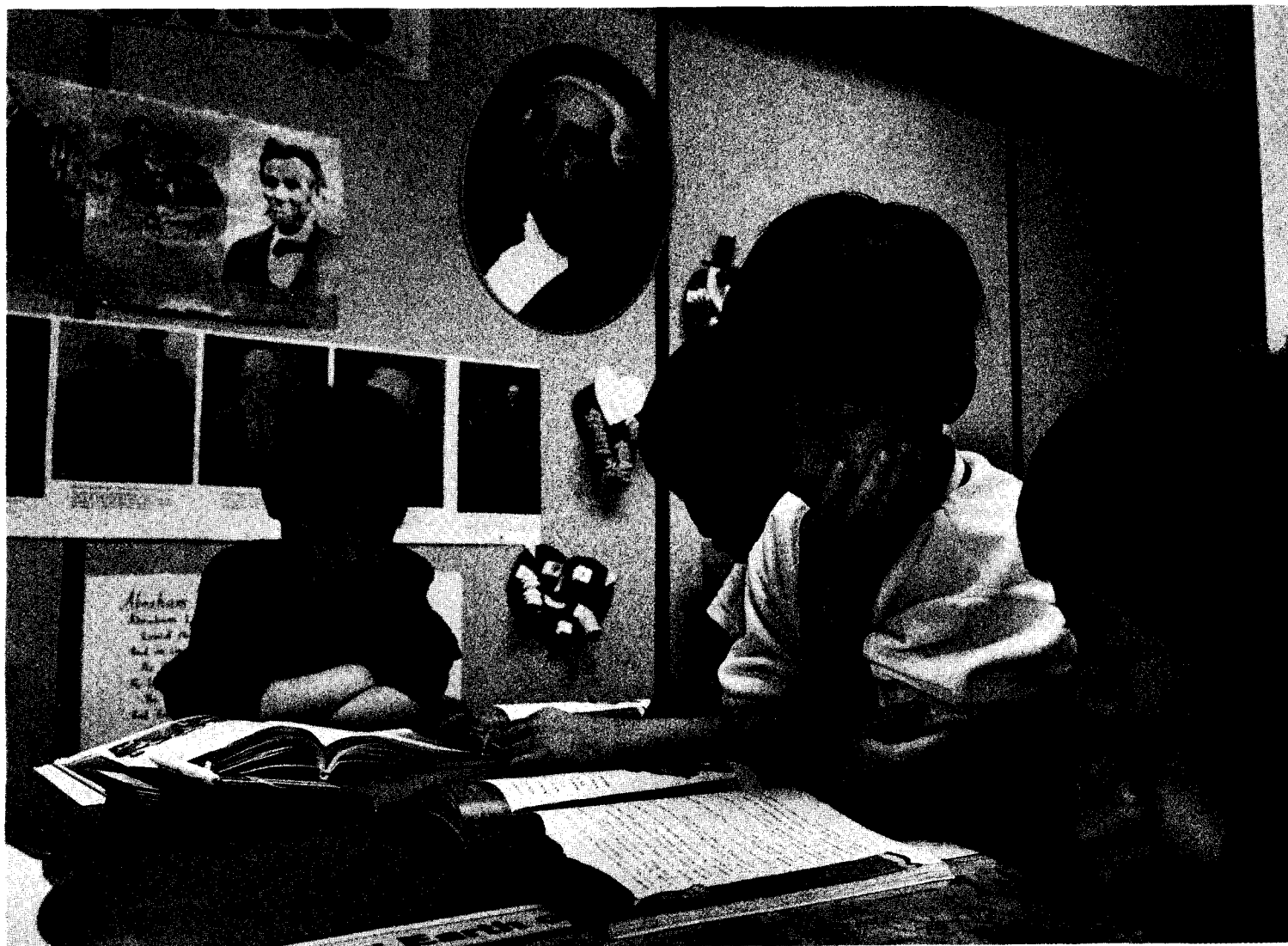
tuted a delightful spice and community relations were harmonious.

John Robinson, who was the mayor of Wausau from 1988 to 1992, acknowledges that no government entity at any stage of Wausau's transformation talked to residents about immigration rates or developed community-wide planning for projecting future changes or deciding whether current trends should be allowed to continue. "The Southeast Asian evolution in Wausau was not a planned process," Robinson told me. "It was sort of a happening. Could the city have planned differently? Yes. But until there is a real need staring you in the face, you don't always reach out and address it." Robinson, who was a young city councilman from 1974 to 1981 and a member of the legislature from 1981 to 1988, says he isn't sure the city could

have changed anything even if officials had spoken out against continuing federal refugee resettlement.

In 1984 Wausau's welcome of Southeast Asians was still bighearted enough, and its relations between cultures congenial enough, for Wausau to be designated an All-American City. Youa Her, an educated, articulate leader of the early wave of Hmong settlers, made one of Wausau's presentations to the national panel of judges. The thirty-four-year-old woman's description of Wausau's generosity reportedly left the panelists with tears in their eyes.

Nobody is exactly sure when and how everything started to go sour. But it was probably around the time of the award—certainly before Youa Her's tragic death, in January of 1986, of tubercular meningitis. Newspapers from those years reveal a community in-



creasingly sobered by the realization that what had appeared to be a short-term, private charitable act had no apparent end and was starting to entail a lot of local public costs. Many natives resent that nobody ever leveled with them about costs or where trends would lead, and they feel they were misled by the local media and by federal, state, and religious leaders.

During the late 1970s residents had assumed that the congregations would cover any costs of caring for the refugees they were sponsoring. After all, it was their project. One sponsor reinforced that notion, telling a reporter, "[Sponsorship] is not something that will last three days or three months or three years. It can be something to last a lifetime."

But the churches' financial commitment was actually rather shallow and short-lived, as Jean Russell, of the county welfare department, explains it. "At the beginning it was good Christian people wanting to do something for somebody. What they did was pick the refugees up at the airport and drive them to our office. The churches did help some, but the Hmong couldn't make it without social services." (The Hmong are not unusual in this regard. A 1991 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services study indicated that nationwide about two thirds of all Southeast Asian refugees who have arrived since 1986 remain on public assistance.)

Wausau residents were assured, though, that they had no reason to worry about increased welfare costs. In 1979 Susan G. Levy, the coordinator for the state's resettlement assistance office, explained that local taxpayers would not be adversely affected by private sponsors' generosity in inviting refugees, because the federal government would pick up the welfare tab.

As long as the flow was meager, Wausau's economy did fairly well at providing jobs to keep the immigrants

PHOTOGRAPHS THIS SPREAD: LEONARD FREED/MAGNUM



Above: Wausau natives encounter Hmong culture. Below left: students at Lincoln Elementary School

off the welfare rolls. "REFUGEES ARE VERY ADAPTABLE, STATE OFFICIALS SAY" was one 1979 headline in the local paper. In June of 1980 the paper reported that 80 percent of the city's refugees became self-supporting within about three years: "WAUSAU'S 200 ASIAN REFUGEES DOING WELL, MORE SPONSORS NEEDED."

Promoters seemed certain that anything that was good and worked on one scale would be even better on a larger scale. Milton Lorman, a state representative from Fort Atkinson, urged Wisconsin to speed the flow of refugees. "The Statue of Liberty symbolizes the historic support of this country for immigrant rights," he said. "Wisconsin, as a state settled by immigrants, proves that this dream works."

But by May of 1982 an important threshold of danger had been crossed. One headline read, "MOST REFUGEES NOW RECEIVING AFDC, RELIEF AID." The immigrant population in Wausau had doubled since 1980, and the nation was in recession. That spring the federal government cut back its welfare assistance to new refugees. In the years that followed, federal and state governments—having enticed communities to take in immigrants—withdraw more and more support, leaving local taxpayers to bear most of the cost. "The federal government was a silent partner

and then became a nonexistent partner," John Robinson laments.

Youa Her in late 1984 accepted the idea of economic limitations. "Anybody that calls," she said, "we'll tell them to think it over and not to be so hurried [to move to Wausau]." Choj Hawj, who was the elected leader of the Hmong Association at the time, said, "When I look to the economy and the population of Wausau city, we don't want any more to come until things look up."

The former school-board member Fred Prehn recalls that Youa Her was also concerned about proportionality and the effect of continued immigration on social relationships. He says she thanked city leaders for how well Wausau had provided for her people. But she warned them not to let the Hmong become more than five percent of the population, Prehn says; if their numbers went much higher, the natives might start to resent the immigrants, and hostility would begin to replace hospitality.

A month after Her's death Robert Nakamaru, a college professor, addressed the proportionality issue at an event that was intended in part to soothe emerging ethnic tensions. "When there are just a handful, they are seen as quaint," Nakamaru said of the immigrants. "But there is a point where a minority reaches a critical mass in the perception of the majority. Wausau is getting close to that point." Since then the city's immigrant population has quadrupled.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

NOBODY involved, apparently, has the authority to stop the refugee-resettlement process if it becomes harmful to a community. Once a week representatives of twelve voluntary agencies sit around a table in a New York office and divide up some 2,000 refugees' names. The Adminis-

tration has determined the overall number in consultation with Congress. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has determined the eligibility of each refugee, and the refugees wait in other countries until a voluntary agency picks up their names at the weekly meeting and begins the process of resettlement.

Federal officials say that refugees cannot be brought into the country unless a voluntary agency is willing to settle them. The agencies sign an agreement—voluntarily—with the State Department to resettle everybody the government wants to bring in. At the time of the annual agreement could the agencies pledge smaller numbers than the government wants to bring in? “That is hypothetical; it never occurs,” a State Department spokeswoman says. Actually, the voluntary agencies tend to lobby the government to bring in many more refugees nationwide than it chooses to each year. They receive compensation for each refugee.

Critics in Wausau say that the national Lutheran and Catholic refugee agencies should refuse to help place anybody else in Wausau. Back when problems got serious there, says Jack Griswold, of the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, the LIRS did stop sending refugees who were not joining relatives. But 80 percent of refugees entering the United States today are joining relatives. And that, Griswold says, is why the LIRS continues to settle refugees in Wausau, which he acknowledges has an overloaded infrastructure reminiscent of California’s: “If we insisted on settling them somewhere else, then they’d be on the bus for Wausau the next day.” The message to communities considering sponsoring refugees for the first time is that once they create the channel, volun-

tary-agency and federal officials have no way to restrict the flow—unless all the agencies refuse to sign the agreement. But if the agencies did that, they would be out of the business of settling refugees—which is, after all, their reason for being.

One remedy might be to take the decisions away from the voluntary agencies and federal officials and put them in the hands of the local and regional entities that pay most of the bills. A variation might be for Congress to poll cities every year about how many immigrants and refugees they wanted and then offer various incentives and controls to ensure that new arrivals settled in the cities doing the inviting. This

At the end of the century as at the beginning, an immigrant-laden school system

would democratize the process, allowing communities to decide much of their own demographic fate.

Nothing in the recent past suggests that Congress, the President, or federal bureaucrats take American communities into consideration at all when setting immigration numbers and policies. The U.S. Bureau of the Census has issued a report projecting that given current immigration patterns, another 134 million people will be added to the United States by 2050. No other factor in American life is likely to have such a large effect on all the other factors. Yet not a single congressional committee or presidential task force has shown any interest in considering whether the nation should become what the Census Bureau projects it will become given current policies. The outcome of those policies, however, has been more accidental than

deliberate. Eugene McCarthy recently said that he and other Senate sponsors of the 1965 law that set mass immigration into motion never intended to open the floodgates. The quadrupling of annual immigration numbers has been an inadvertent and harmful result. Yet over the past two decades the federal government has made no attempt to assess the environmental, social, infrastructural, and economic consequences to communities of such rapid federally induced population growth.

A COOLING-OFF PERIOD

FOR twenty-eight years Billy Moy’s One World Inn served Chinese food in a former train depot on an island in the Wisconsin River. Bridges connecting the western half of Wausau to its downtown, on the east side, route traffic past the depot. Before his retirement last year Billy Moy, who arrived in Wausau as a

COURTESY OF MARATHON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



LEONARD FREED/MAGNUM



Chinese refugee, sat with me in a darkened back room and told the kind of colorful escape and success stories that traditionally have evoked warmhearted responses from Americans. As a teenager he fled the Chinese Communists in 1951 and arrived by train in Wausau in 1952. After years of hard work, perseverance, and saving, and six years in the U.S. Army reserves, Moy bought the island depot and turned it into his restaurant in 1965.

"I didn't know a word of English when I arrived," Moy told me. In that he was like many of the refugees arriving today. But his reception and his freedom to move into the economic mainstream were far different. Why? One explanation may be that Moy had more education than the Hmong, whose people didn't even have a written language until recent decades. More important, perhaps, he was a novelty in Wausau, rather than a member of a mass of newcomers which natives may find threatening. "I started with first-grade English and high school math," Moy said. "People were very nice, especially the teachers. Kids never harassed me. Never a bad word. I guess it was because I was the only one." Fred Prehn went to school with Moy's son during the 1960s and 1970s and recalls that the young Moy was the only minority student. That son now has an M.B.A. and is a business analyst in Milwaukee.

But today's economy has not offered as many opportunities to the large number of refugees of the eighties and nineties, Mary C. Roberts, of the Marathon County Development Corporation, told me. "The Southeast Asian unemployment rate is high," Roberts said. "I think it is kind of irresponsible for churches to bring more in without at least the equivalent of one job pledged per family. Churches look at this just from the humanitarian angles and not the practical."

Various Wausau residents told me they favor a "cooling-off period" before more refugees are resettled in their city. Few residents know it, but such a period

played a major role in creating the homogeneous Wausau they now consider the norm. After the turn of the century, immigration caused a social upheaval in Wausau. Back then the Germans and the Yankees were distinct ethnic groups, neither of which found particular strength in diversity. From 1880 to the start of the First World War, Germans streamed into Wausau, eventually overwhelming its New England Yankee founders. Jim Lorence, a local historian, says that the Germans became the predominant ethnic group around 1910. By the end of the decade the immigrants had turned the once conservative Republican town into a Socialist powerhouse. After the November, 1918, elections nearly every county office and both of the county's seats in the state assembly were filled by German-elected Socialists, Lorence says. Amid the political turmoil, natives felt like foreigners in their own home town. Around the nation this period was a time of sweatshops, worsening inner-city squalor, and ethnic hatred that propelled the Ku Klux Klan to its greatest popularity ever. The KKK, however, never got a strong foothold in Wausau, Lorence says.

The federal government in 1924 responded to the problems in a way that had a profound effect on the future development of Wausau and the nation. Congress lowered immigrant admissions to a level more palatable to local labor markets, according to the labor economist Vernon Briggs, of Cornell University. In his recent book, *Mass Immigration and the National Interest*, he describes how the 1924 law gave the country a much-needed forty years to assimilate the new immigrants. The KKK's power receded nationally, and cultural wounds began to heal. Labor markets gradually tightened. That helped stimulate improvements in technology and productivity which supported the middle-class wage economy that Americans took for granted until the 1970s—when the labor supply ballooned owing to renewed mass immigration, the entry of the Baby Boomers

into the job market, and a radical increase in the number of married women in the workplace. Since then wages have declined and disparities of wealth have widened.

After publishing his book, Briggs called for a moratorium on most immigration until the federal government figures out how once again to tie the immigration rate to the national interest. Among others independently urging a temporary halt to immigration (with varying exceptions) are the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR); the National Hispanic Alliance; an Orange County, California, grand jury; the University of California ecology professor Garrett Hardin; Harold Gilliam, the environment columnist for the *San Francisco Chronicle*; and the environmental group Population-Environment Balance. A 1992 Roper poll commissioned by FAIR found that a majority of Americans support the idea of a moratorium. It and other polls have found that a majority of every substantial ethnic group in the United States desires reduced immigration.

Congress began to take part in the discussion about a cooling-off period late last year, when Senator Harry Reid and Representative James Bilbray, both Democrats from Nevada, introduced comprehensive immigration-reform bills that would cut the number of legal immigrants by roughly two thirds, to 300,000 and 350,000 a year. (The U.S. average from 1820 to 1965 was 297,000.) In February, Representative Bob Stump, an Arizona Republican, introduced a "moratorium" bill that would reduce immigration even further. The last time Congress cut the flow of immigrants, in the 1920s, Wausau began to experience social healing, Jim Lorence says. Though it took another thirty years for the major divisions between the German immigrants and the native Yankees to disappear, the disparate ethnic groups slowly began to achieve a unified and harmonious culture—the paradigm of a recoverable paradise. ☛

O Lonesome Day That Ends in Shame

by ANDREW FOX

ALL of this was in Rolla, Missouri, I remember. We had a nasty little office space in the middle of a shopping center that was going downhill: clean, plastic-smelling carpeting, one window in the outer office, with a view of a parking lot and the highway. Three couples had arrived; two looked like good bets. The third one, newlyweds, sat against the back wall of the office; they burped a little when I told them they'd have to listen to my sales pitch if they wanted their prize, looked me in the eye, folded their arms, nudged each other; they weren't buyers. The husband in the second couple was maybe seventeen, and his wife was just starting to show, and they looked pleased as apples that I had invited them to take advantage of a terrific opportunity. The first couple had a drooling baby that was so obese it looked goitered.

I was on the fourth page of the demo album. "Look at this," I was saying to the youngest couple, showing them a photo of a couple superimposed on a brandy snifter. "This kind of thing would run you forty, fifty dollars at Owen Mills, but I've got three pages of coupons that will allow you to get these pictures for just seven dollars apiece." I told them I hadn't had to buy wedding presents for years. I just promised the bride and groom their picture on a brandy snifter, sent the proofs, bingo.

"Can you do other stuff, shot glasses and Jack Daniel's bottles? 'Cause me and Rhonda don't drink brandy," the seventeen-year-old said, and the blonde woman in the back rolled her eyes.

"You name it, we can do it. We can put you on a shot glass, a Bud can; hell—pardon my language—we can put you on the stomach of a glass Bambi deer if you want."

I went through the rest of the talk, and the two couples in front were in up to their hips. They would get unlimited free film, I told them; they would pay only for the developing costs. We would airbrush out the red eyes in the pictures if

they wanted. They would get one hundred coupons that would allow them to have oil paintings made out of old photographs for only forty dollars apiece (done by computer to eliminate any possibility of error); one hundred coupons for photo mattings in the shape of hearts, kidneys, bicycles, ovals, houses, and Christmas trees; two dozen old-photo retouches absolutely free (done by our experts); and an unlimited supply of plastic photo-protector album pages; and we would start them out with two hundred free rolls of film. "And I don't know about you," I said, pointing at the couple in back, "but I know that you people here with this gorgeous child will tell them that two hundred rolls will last you maybe six months, because you just can't have enough pictures of your baby."

The baby's parents smiled, and the mother said, "That is so true." I gave her a napkin, because the baby was spitting up. The blonde in the back was looking at the ceiling, adding up rolls of film in her head and figuring out that a mortal human being could never use up anywhere close to two hundred rolls of film in six months.

Then I got to the tricky part. What we had done, I explained to them, was to add up the actual value of the many options we were giving them at such great savings. Since we had given them forty coupons for oil paintings, which would save them \$20 apiece, or \$800,

and two hundred free rolls of film at four dollars apiece, which made \$800, they were already ahead by \$1,600. I added up all their savings—all the coupons, all the pictures, all the free rolls of film. They would be saving a total of \$8,000. The pregnant girl gasped. "And all we're asking you to do," I said, "is to help us out a little. We're a small company, not much capital, and to give you this kind of bargain we need your help. So we're going to ask you to pay one tenth—that's right, just ten percent—of the total savings you'll be getting. Just eight hundred dollars."

"It's all legal," I said. "If we didn't take their money, somebody else would. It's a part of their educational process"

Then I waited, because they and I had arrived at the ever-loving moment of truth. This is the point where in St. Louis a big black woman shouted, "You mean you are asking us to pay you eight hundred dollars so that we can pay you to develop some pictures?"

I waited just a heartbeat, and while they were still puzzling over all those terrible numbers, I told them about the pricing plan. I told them that they could pay either over a period of three years, though we would charge them interest at a competitive rate, or all at once. "And frankly," I told them, "I don't like to see people pay all at once, because it's just too much of a strain, especially on young people like yourselves, just starting out." I told the couple in the back—the doubters and eye-rollers—that they didn't need to stay for this business conference, and I got them out of the room. I told them that I had sent them a complimentary ticket for a free boat, car, camera, or prize to be named later, and that they could turn it in to my wife in the outer office if they wanted to collect their prize. When they were gone, I turned back to the others. The office looked clean, the demo album lay spread open to a picture of an oil painting, water was moving through pipes somewhere in the walls, and I could almost feel the sun setting outside.

"I just don't see how you can afford to give us a deal like this," the woman with the baby said.

"It's an investment in you," I told her. "We want your business, and we're willing to pay to get it." Both couples signed, but the one with the baby didn't leave. The man leaned back in his chair. He was a big man, but something in the way he relaxed made him look especially heavy, like nothing could move him out of that chair. He looked tanned, though his skin was burned in places. His wife stood with the baby on her hip, bouncing it in a quick, nervous way. I felt myself wince every time the baby's neck jounced up and down.

"That is one good-looking child," I told her.

"I think so, but every mother does," she said. "For all I

know, this could be the ugliest baby in the world. The very ugliest."

"You know that's not true," her husband said.

"Heavens, no—that child is an angel," I said.

The woman said, "Well," and then nothing else. We looked at one another for a minute or two, and her husband shrugged. The baby's head kept bouncing on its neck. Then the woman made a breathy noise in her throat. "It's not like you two are experts on beauty or anything. It's not like anyone elected you two to be God!"

"No, ma'am," I said.

"No, they didn't," her husband said.

The woman was frowning down at the desk, not looking at anyone. She straightened up and smiled. "Since we are practically going into business together, I think we ought to have you and your wife out to the house for dinner," she said cheerfully. I told them we wouldn't be able to make it just now, but perhaps in a few months, when we were back in town, we would look in on her to see how the picture deal was working for them. She and her husband shook my hand again and went out. After they had gone, I looked at their contract and found her signature in a tiny, neat hand at the bottom: Linda Ranier.

The pitch always tired me out. All my weight settled in my stomach like lead, I worried about ulcers and blood pressure, and some days I would forget I had already done the pitch, or I would mix up the people in my head and two hours later, at dinner,

I would get in a panic, thinking that we had to be at the office to sign someone up. That day I watched through the blinds as the man helped the woman into an old, heavy seventies car. Behind me I could hear Natalie putting their addresses into the computer. Out of four batches of three couples each, we had four contracts, which meant we'd had a good though not a great day. Natalie had on a red business suit, one of those that are built to shape a woman like an ironworker, but she was tall and thin, and the broad shoulders gave her a kind of sexy, gawky elegance. Her hair was



long, thick, Spanish hair, so dark and shiny it looked as if it were oiled. She was tapping her foot and chewing gum, and if she wasn't doing that, she was looking at her nails. She had never been a real secretary, but the mannerisms were in her genes.

"When do you want to bill those four?" she said.

"Wait a couple of weeks," I told her. "We don't want them to think that they're dealing with some fly-by-night operation." It was the same little joke I used every night, and neither one of us laughed. "God, that was one ugly baby!" I said.

"All babies are ugly at that stage," she said. "When they get older and talk and walk, they get cuter."

"Yeah, and then they get big enough to pull pans of boiling grease off the stove and choke on apples."

"Well, I don't know why anyone would put a pan of boiling grease on a stove with a baby around," she said. "And anyway, they can choke on apples at any age. You or me could choke on an apple tomorrow."

"Not likely," I said. I went into the back office and sorted around as if I were looking for something important, because we were rattling along in one of our old ruts, and I knew what was coming next.

"I don't see why we can't have a baby, when every other stupid couple that walks through that door has one," she said. I reminded her that these were the same people who would pay \$800 to have their pictures superimposed on a brandy snifter. I told her we would worry about babies sometime further down the road, that she should forget about them. She stared me down, and I told her I would take her out to dinner at the best restaurant in Rolla, Missouri. It was our last night in town, and we had to clear the walls and desks, and put the pictures and the albums and the computers and the contracts in the van.

The company made the money. I had been with them five years, and in the best year I made \$30,000, but I had no expense account and \$30,000 doesn't go far on the road. We moved every two weeks, found the names of new babies and newlyweds through the state or in town at the courthouse, and mailed our flyer. They learned that they could win a boat, car, camera, or other free gift if they just listened to a half-hour sales pitch. Maybe five percent came to see us, enough to set up four three-couple meetings each night for a while. We got maybe a third of the people to sign a contract, and about half of those stopped paying after the first \$300. When they did, we sent them a couple of threatening letters, signed by an attorney; some coughed up the other \$500, but most just ignored us, and felt happy that they got out of the contract minus only \$300. Nat and I handled all the paperwork, and the company got the money, and after eight years I was supposed to get a job in the office in Kansas City, but I wasn't holding my breath.

Natalie was nineteen years and a month younger than I was. I had met her at the Stuckey's in Terre Haute after I'd

been on the road six months. I sat down in a booth and Natalie came over to take my order. She was nineteen then, but she had already finished one marriage, and the tiredness around her eyes made her look older than she was.

"Darling," I said to her, "if you come with me, I guarantee that you will never wear a polyester short dress again."

She smiled and shook her hair away from the pad in her hand.

"If you come away with me, I will guarantee you a big house out in the country someday, with horses running in the fields."

After we talked some more and I finished dinner, I went around the corner to the building where I had my office for the day, and I did two pitches. When I was done, I walked back around the corner and Natalie was there, waiting next to my car. She still had the order pad in her hand, and even from the corner I could see the pages fluttering in the wind.

THAT night in Rolla, after we packed the van, I drove around for an hour looking for a good restaurant. We asked the guy at the motel and he suggested an Italian place and a Chinese place, the Temple of Happiness, but both of them were closed. We ended up at the Waffle House, on a service road next to the interstate. It was crowded and noisy, smelling of diesel and syrup, and when we sat down in a booth, a waitress came over and told us that tonight booths were reserved for parties of four or more and we would have to sit at the counter. Nat gave me a look. I put a ten-dollar bill on the table, and the waitress left us two menus.

"Well, they don't have filet mignon, or that's what I'd order for you, darling," I said.

"You're sweet," she said.

"How about a chicken-fried steak? Best thing on the menu."

"That's fine."

"And a glass of buttermilk," I said. "It costs more than coffee, orange juice, or Coke."

"That's all right. I'll just have water."

"You sure?" I said. "We can afford the buttermilk. We got three contracts today. Darling, if you want, we can put your picture on a brandy snifter."

She wanted to smile, but didn't do it. "You know, I don't even like buttermilk." When she was nervous or happy, she spoke from a little too far back in her throat, and her words came out slowly, carefully, as if her tongue had to study each one before she could say it. She was speaking like that now, but I could not tell just what it meant. When the food came, we ate and talked, about nothing that was of any particular consequence. A few of the truckers at the counter started a loud argument about whores and hemorrhoids and who had had the best and the worst of each. Any kind of vulgar language drove Natalie crazy, and I noticed that after each out-

burst she would lay her fork across her plate for a minute or two. Some more truckers came in, and the waitresses called them all by name. They wandered around swatting one another with seed caps, and soon even the spaces between the tables were full of laughing, yelling truckers.

"Not exactly the romantic evening I had in mind," I told Nat.

We left and drove back to the motel. As motels go, it was not a bad place. The room smelled like clean wood ash instead of the usual air freshener, coffee in the morning was free, the sheets were mostly cotton, and the toilet didn't rock. When the shades were open, we could see a scrub field that looked too sparse for pasture, and beyond it a Texaco station. I turned on the TV and flipped through the channels. Nat took off her red jacket and blouse, and sat down in her bra on one of the chairs, gazing at the paintings. They were both original art by the motel owner, who did tempera landscapes of the Southwest. Frowning, she looked slowly from one to the other without much interest, the shadowy light from the TV shaping her arms and face, and her shoulders exhausted. A pretty, tired woman sitting on a motel chair. I thought that I had never seen anything sadder.

"Something wrong, darling?" I said.

"I just feel dirty," she said.

I didn't say anything.

"I mean from the things we do," she said. "Sometimes the things we do to people make me feel dirty."

"Darling, it's all legal," I said, but I knew that did not make any difference. "If we didn't take their money, somebody else would. It's a part of their educational process."

"Sometimes I miss Dorry," she said. Dorry was one of the girls Nat worked with at the Stuckey's. They wrote to each other once or twice after Nat came on the road with me, and Nat mentioned her whenever she was really down.

"I know you do." I went over and put my hand on her shoulder. "If you ever get tired of traveling around, we can drive you back home to Terre Haute."

"No!" she said. I thought for a moment she was going to say "Never." She looked very young, and scared. She was a woman who accepted troubles as they came to her, and I realized that the most impressive thing she had ever done was to leave the Stuckey's and get in my car. Now she needed that car; it was the only thing between her and truckers who told hemorrhoid jokes.

Someone knocked on the door, and Natalie jumped up and went into the bathroom.

It was the Raniers. The baby, crying, was slung in a backpack on Mr. Ranier's back.

"Hello, folks," I said. "What can I do for you?"

"We want to make the first investment," Mrs. Ranier said. "Yes?"

"We had to call every motel in town to find out where you were," Mrs. Ranier said.

"We brought three hundred along with us," Mr. Ranier said.

"You know you don't have to pay until we bill you?"

They nodded. Nat came out of the bathroom wearing a sweatshirt, and I asked her to get a receipt ready. "What a lovely baby!" she said.

Mrs. Ranier insisted that Nat hold the baby. The three of them took a minute to wrestle the baby out of the backpack, and it spit up as soon as Nat put it against her chest. Mrs. Ranier suggested that they take it outside to let it get some fresh air. The women left before the receipt was ready, and I had to get it myself. I was going to ask Mr. Ranier how he planned to pay, but before I could, he dug into his pockets and started pulling out stray bills. "I think I've got enough," he said, and grinned. He had \$120 in tens, and the remainder in fives and ones. We had to flatten out the bills and count them carefully on the bed, since most of them looked as if they had been balled up in the bottoms of his pockets for a month. He had \$352 altogether, and he told me to keep it all. And to call him Pete.

Nat and Mrs. Ranier came in after a few minutes, laughing about something the baby had done, and when we finally got the Raniers to leave, after about fifteen minutes, Mrs. Ranier had promised to write and tell us about the baby's progress.

E left Rolla the next day and went to Joplin for two weeks. While we were in Joplin, we got a letter.

Dear Mr. Norton,

I would like to write to thank you for your fine offer of film since, as you may not know, my Linda and me lost our first baby a year ago. Down to business. I would like, as you promised, another book of two-hundred roll of film free coupons.

Friendly yours,
Pete Ranier

Two other thick envelopes were enclosed in the first. One contained \$200 in small bills, and the other had a letter from Mrs. Ranier on the progress of their daughter, Julie, along with four glossy color photos.

"Will you look at this?" I said to Nat.

She looked over the packet and smiled. "I think it's sweet."

"Sweet, maybe," I said. "But why on earth do they need another two hundred coupons?"

"They paid for them, didn't they?" she said.

"Sure they did. But I've got a trouble meter in my head that tells me these people aren't on the level."

Nat said I was crazy. That night she wrote them a letter saying how much we appreciated their pictures, and she sent it back along with two sheets of a hundred coupons each and a receipt for the money. She also gave them our PO box

numbers in Tulsa and Edmond, so that they could find us. When we pulled into Edmond, at the end of August, the Raniers had sent us the balance of the \$800 in a brown envelope, along with a picture of Julie superimposed on a glass cradle, framed in a cutout heart. Nat started writing long letters to the Raniers. She sent candy and a few small toys, and postcards from all the different cities we visited. She wrote all her letters to Julie, telling her about the highway and about selling pictures to happy people all over Oklahoma. "They're for Linda, but I think Julie will like the thought," she said. Linda started addressing her letters to Aunt Natalie, and Nat trimmed down one of the pictures and put it in her pocketbook. I told her she seemed happier. "It's nice to have something to look forward to when we get into town," she said. We worked our way toward Amarillo, where the van broke down for a day in the middle of the flat Texas plain. Then we started north, across Kansas. When we got to Kansas City, the baby was trying to stand up, and by the time we crossed the Mississippi, it could walk across the room without help. We decided to make a short loop into Illinois and start back west along I-40, testing out some of the smaller towns along the way. I didn't like small towns—word traveled too fast in them, the people didn't trust easily—but Natalie wanted to get back to Rolla to see the baby before it started talking.

She sat down and wrote the Raniers a letter. Four, five, six pages she filled up with small print. She fell asleep during the late news, and after I put her to bed, I read over what she had written.

Dear Julie,

Wanted to be sure and write to you, to tell you that your uncle John and me will be through Rolla sometime in a month or so, and would love to come see you and your parents then. Sorry I have no pictures, am too busy to have them taken (funny, ha). Saw the Miss. River for about the hundredth time the other day, it was muddy and wet as always. This side of the river we stopped for gas, and I spilled about a gallon on my brand new skirt and pantyhose. Felt like crying as both were ruined and had to change clothes in the gas station bathroom and door would not latch so a woman came in while I was wiping my bare bottom and legs off with paper towels. John thought it was pretty funny, but sometimes little things bother me so much. Feel better today, but rest of that day I thought about jumping out of the car. Right out onto the highway. Didn't do it, though, ha.

The rest of the letter was about the Raniers' home out in the country, and how much Natalie wished we had a house, and how sometimes she thought that I was not the best man in the world but that someday we were going to live in a house with a tree in the yard. I had already forgotten about the spilled gasoline.

The company called while we were in Springfield. Apparently one of my contractees was causing a stir. They were

supposed to send in a roll at a time, pay for the developing, and then send the next one in. Instead this client had sent the company two hundred rolls of film at once for developing, and the kid at the lab, who was supposed to catch problems like that, had let it slip. With developing costs, the contractee had an outstanding bill of \$1,400. The company believed that we had been scammed, that the client was never going to pay a dime, that I was at fault. They would, they said, take the \$1,400 out of my commissions if I couldn't get the whole mess straightened out. Obviously, the contractee had been farming the free film out to friends or selling it to customers and then dumping it on us. When they told me the name, I was not surprised: Linda Ranier.

"Well, Aunt Natalie," I said, "it looks like your niece and her family have put our ass on the fire." I explained the situation.

"I don't think they would do that," she said.

"The hell they wouldn't. They saw us coming from farther away than we saw them coming." She told me she would write them a letter to ask for an explanation; she was sure someone had made a mistake.

"I never did think it was a good idea for you to be writing to a *mark*," I said.

She looked at me as if I had bitten her. "She's my friend, John."

"She may be."

"Why don't you ever let me have any friends?"

I stood behind her, held her face in my two hands, and put my cheek against her hair. "Darling, I want you to have friends. But these people are using us. They are up to something."

"They have the right," she said. "They signed the contract for the film, didn't they? It's all legal, what they're doing."

"If they don't pay, we'll eat fourteen hundred."

"The company will take them to court," she said.

"The company," I told her, "is not in any position to take anyone to court."

"They'll pay—they paid eight hundred already."

"We'll see when we get to Rolla."

"You don't trust anyone," she said. "They got a little girl!"

I left it at that. She wrote them another long letter that night. I didn't read it, and when I went to the post office to mail it the next day, I found another letter from the Ranier woman already in the box, with pictures of the whole family.

HEN we moved the operation back to Rolla, three weeks later, I called the Raniers. Linda got excited when she heard who it was, and she spent a few minutes trying to get Julie to talk into the phone. I told her we had a little mix-up with the billing of her account, and Nat and I wanted to meet with them sometime while we were in town to straighten it out. She muffled the phone, and I could hear

WHY ALL AMERICANS SHOULD SUPPORT A MORATORIUM ON IMMIGRATION

- FACT:** More alien workers entered the U.S. labor market in 1992 than jobs were created, according to Immigration Service and Department of Labor statistics. America's disadvantaged workers suffer disproportionately from the steady influx of low-skilled, low-wage labor. The Zoe Baird incident was only the tip of the iceberg.
- FACT:** The Census Bureau now projects that there will be 392 million Americans in 2050, largely because of what *The Washington Post* describes as "massive immigration." That's 65 percent more Americans than there are today, and 92 million more than the Census Bureau projected just four years ago.
- FACT:** Thousands of illegal immigrants enter the country every day—3 million illegal entries a year. The law admits more immigrants and other workers than the economy can absorb. Fake documents are easily obtained, providing access to benefits meant for legal residents.

Our national political leadership is apparently unaware that a majority of Americans of all ethnic backgrounds favor reduced immigration (Roper Poll, May 1992; Latino National Political Survey, December 1992). In fact, immigration policymakers seem more concerned with pleasing the special interests than doing the will of the people they are elected to serve.

THE FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM (FAIR) WANTS TO CHANGE THAT.

FAIR is working for a moratorium on immigration until the United States can:

- ✓ substantially eliminate illegal immigration;
- ✓ establish a secure work authorization system;
- ✓ revise immigration law to reduce overall numbers; and
- ✓ complete a comprehensive analysis of the long-term demographic, environmental, cultural and economic effects of future immigration and population growth.

Join FAIR: We're a national, pro-limits population organization working to stop illegal immigration and cap legal immigration. It's time for you to get involved and help make a difference in America's future.



For more information call:
800/395-0890

Enroll me as a member of FAIR.

I want to be a:

- ☐ Sponsoring Member (\$100)
☐ Sustaining Member (\$50)
☐ Member (\$25)

☐ Please send me more information about FAIR.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard

acct. # _____

exp. date _____

signature _____

Please include a check, money order, or credit card information and send to:

**FAIR, 1666 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20009** ATL 494

her yelling at someone for a minute or so, and then she came back on the line and gave us directions to her house, which was in the hills north of town.

From a distance the house didn't look too bad—it was white clapboard, with a nice porch that ran around two sides. When we got closer, though, I could see that the porch was coming loose from the roof, tilting away from the rest of the house at a slight angle. The land looked like it had been a farm once, but now the hill behind the house was overgrown with trash shrubs and bull thistles, and the grass in front was two or three feet high, except in big mysterious patches where it had been blasted into bare dirt.

I didn't see any junked cars, but two old refrigerators sat side by side next to the porch, with the doors still on them and slashes of rust down the sides, and what looked like some kind of playground piece, made out of twelve or fifteen old whiskey barrels, was out in front of the house. Some barrels were on their sides, others were nailed to those, and old gray boards were nailed on top of them as a kind of walkway. The whole structure must have been twelve feet high, with the ends of barrels and stray boards sticking off into the air in all directions.

"Look at that," Natalie said.

We followed the ruts up to where the path dissolved into one of the patches of dirt, and we parked. I could smell the dry rot of the house when we got out of the car. For as far as I could see, no other sign of human habitation was visible. There were no houses, barns, plowed fields, power lines, or animals; the road we had come in on was hidden, and every hill in sight was covered with the same chest-high weed. With the sun shining down on that desolation, it was like a great hazy oven.

The front screen door swung open, and someone shouted, "They're here!" We both jumped.

The woman barged into the yard, dressed in cutoff jeans and an old blue-plaid shirt, her hair tied up in a bandanna. She had a backpack slung over one shoulder, and the baby cradled

in her free arm. "Hey!" she said, smiling. She put the baby down on the ground, in the dirt, and nudged it. "Show them," she said. "Show Aunt Natalie what a good little walker you can be." The baby crawled in a circle, trying to get its footing, and the woman took out a camera and crouched down. Sidling around the baby like a crab, so that she could keep herself on a level with the top of the child's head, she started taking pictures—six, eight, maybe nine shots. When the baby finally got to its feet, it took two steps and collapsed backward onto its seat and froze, its smiling face posed for another picture. The

woman scuttled around and snapped yet another one. Then she picked the child up and walked eight more feet toward us and put the child down again.

"Hello," I said. "Linda?"

"Be with you in just a minute," she said. Her husband came out on the porch and leaned against one of the posts. He smiled and shook his head happily at us. Mrs. Ranier took four more pictures of the child and then two of us.

"Hello," she said, when she finally brought the kid over to us. She was out of breath, and a smudge of dust was on her nose.

"What a sweet baby!" Natalie said.

"She *is* adorable," Mrs. Ranier agreed. She looked as if she was about to say something more, but then she bent forward just slightly from the waist, and she shuddered.

"Goodness, are you all right?" Natalie said.

"Oh, fine," she said. "I just have moments now and again where my train of thought

gets derailed." She laughed in a way that made the hair stand up on the back of my neck.

She made Natalie hold the baby while she took pictures of the two of them, and then I had to hold it. I noticed that the baby had a purple welt on the side of its neck. I glanced at Nat; she gave me a significant look, and I knew she had seen the mark. She was watching Linda carefully, with her hands held out from her sides in a way that struck me as strange, until I realized that she was waiting to be hugged. Linda broke us into groups. I had to take a picture of her



and Nat and the baby, then she took one of Nat and me and the baby, and then Nat had to take one. When I picked up the child for the second time, it fell asleep immediately in my arms.

Her husband stepped down one step on the porch. "Linda, why don't you invite our guests in and let them get out of the sun?"

"Oh, you *dear!*" she shouted. "Yes, please come in the house."

We went inside, and Linda announced, "Time for some flash shots!" I heard the whine of the flash charging up.

"Should we arrange ourselves at the table, ma'am?" I said.

She looked at me as though I had said the stupidest thing imaginable. "I only take candid pictures," she said. "And landscapes." She took two of Natalie, one of her husband, and finished the roll on the baby, whom I had placed in a crib under the window. Then she unzipped the backpack. It was full of Gold 100—there must have been seventy rolls in it altogether, and she loaded one into the camera, putting the spent roll in the outside pocket.

We all sat down at the table—an old bar table with initials and brands of beer carved into the top—and I opened my briefcase. I was rattled, and for a full minute I just stared at the invoices.

"Let me just say, Mr. Norton, how much we appreciate what you've done for us," Pete began. He went on and on. I had changed their life more than I could know, he told me, and I would never know what a sad person his Linda was before my *fine offer*, my *fine offer* completely changed her and made her into the happy person that she was now. As he talked, his eyes filled with tears and he plucked with one hand at the thick black hair on the back of the other. While he was talking, I noticed Linda shiver again the way she had outside. This time she was looking at the camera, which she had left on the table in front of her. Her hand crept out toward it; she glanced at me and put her head down, but her hand kept going and she pulled the camera toward her. The house was hot, and we all began to sweat. I tried to catch Natalie's eye, but she was staring at the baby, who was sweating in its crib. All the color had drained out of Nat's face. She took in the baseboards, which were grayed with scuff marks and dust. The smell of dry rot was even stronger inside the house. Finally Pete's voice trailed off, and he and his wife sat staring across at each other.

"You don't know how gratifying that is to me," I told him. Then I hauled out the ledgers and explained that his account was short just over \$1,400, and though I appreciated his promptness in paying off the first \$800, the company just couldn't afford to have him carrying such a big debt. I rattled on, meeting first his eyes and then hers.

"Does this mean you're going to take away our free film?" she said, when I had finished.

"No, not at all," I told her. "But we may need to insist that

you pay a certain amount before we can develop any more pictures."

"I work, you know, Mr. Norton," he told me.

"I know that," I said. "And let me tell you that I care about no one more than the working man."

"Pete works at the distillery," Linda interrupted. "That's how he gets those old barrels for free. He likes to say you can get drunk just crawling through one of those barrels, just from the ghosts of the spirits." She laughed again.

Pete got up and went into the other room, and came back with an envelope full of bills.

"That's what we've got right now," he said. "Will that be enough?"

I flipped through the bills—they added up to about \$500. "That will be fine," I told him, and nudged Natalie under the table to get her to write him a receipt.

She looked at me steadily. "Can Julie talk yet?" she said.

"Oh, no," Linda said. "You saw her—she can barely walk yet. She's not the smartest thing in the world. In fact, if you want to know the truth, sometimes I think she's stupid, clumsy. Stupid and clumsy."

Pete and I said, "Hey, now," at the same time.

"Well, she's my angel no matter what," Linda said. She sat for a moment and then piped up, "I'm not always this way."

"What way is that, ma'am?"

She had the camera cradled in her lap. "On special occasions you have to take pictures, though, don't you think?"

"Absolutely."

She looked over at Pete. "Can we show Aunt Natalie the town?"

"Honey, I don't think so."

"Oh, come on," she said. "Can't we please show them? I bet Mr. Norton would like to see too."

Pete ran his hand through his hair. "I don't think they'd want to."

"I'd love to see the town," Natalie said.

We got ready, and Linda led us outside through the tall grass, just to the edge of the clearing with the barrels. "Ticks, ticks, everybody watch for ticks," she said under her breath. They had a car parked out there—an old Impala from the seventies, as big as a bus, and we all climbed into it.

"Does the little one have a car seat?" Natalie asked.

Linda didn't answer. Once she had us in the back seat, she made us take little Julie and hold her up so that her head showed above the edge of the window frame. "Here's little Jewel, going into town with Aunt and Uncle," she said. She got pictures from two or three different angles and then switched to the other side of the car and took one from there.

They got into the car. "Don't worry about a car seat," Pete said. "There's nothing to hit between here and town anyway."

We started off, with the big car huffing along, hitting sometimes on two and sometimes on three cylinders, thresh-

ing down the burdocks and thistles until we dropped into the ruts of the lane. Pete kept the windows sealed to the top; he claimed that if he just fooled with the knobs long enough the air-conditioning would kick in, and so we all inhaled the gassy smell of the old car. Natalie stared out the window. I looked at the delicate blue veins in the child's eyelids as it slept fitfully in my lap. Linda pressed the nose of her camera up against the side window, snapping the odd picture or two. By the time Pete pulled into an old church's parking lot, she had finished another roll.

"Here we are!" she said. "First stop. Take one of me first." She opened our door and took Julie, giving Natalie the camera. "Aunt Natalie has to take this picture. This one will be me and Julie in front of our church." She and Natalie walked over to the building, a small white house with a cross on the top. Apparently no one had been there in months.

"Nice place," I said to Pete. "Is it Methodist or Baptist or what?"

He touched his chin thoughtfully. "Let me see. I think this one is the Pentecostal or the Kingdom Hall," he said. "The Methodist is out the other way. I think we've been over there a time or two."

Linda was waving us over, telling us to come on and get in the family shots while we had enough light.

Next they drove us to the shopping center outside town, a big Wal-Mart complex with a grocery store. "I want to pump gas," Linda announced. "I think Uncle John should be the cameraman here." I took pictures of Linda pumping gas at a Mobil station. She posed and preened and brushed her hair back under her bandanna, as if I were a very old friend whom she could flirt with in front of her husband. When that was finished, Linda and Pete and I carried the baby the whole length of the Wal-Mart while Natalie took pictures of the three of us. "The couple, child, and a friend carrying their child," Linda said. She looked at me. "It's funny how you can make a whole summer vacation out of an afternoon," she said.

In the store they took more pictures, perhaps three rolls. They took many of the baby trying on clothes, and we all had to comment on how much she had grown, on what great progress she was making. Natalie managed to corner me once and asked me to please find a way to make them stop, but I couldn't see any way to do it, short of grabbing the camera and smashing it. We moved to the toy section. Julie was finished by this time. She had had nothing to eat or drink all afternoon, and her eyes were glazed with exhaustion. Linda tried to coax the child into a sitting position from where she lay on the tile floor, but Julie wouldn't move, and the purple doll that Linda tried next only scared her.

"I think she's tired," Pete said. "It's probably time to go."

 E drove back to their house, with the late-afternoon sun splashing through the windshield. Natalie sat perfectly still all the way back; every so often she would run her hand over the baby's head. Linda leaned over the front seat and took one picture of us, with the flash. "Isn't this wonderful?" she said. About that time Julie caught her breath and began to wail, and she wailed all the way home. I did not blame her.

Back at the house they invited us in for dinner, but we declined. Linda gave us each a big hug. "Thank you so much for a wonderful afternoon," she said. Natalie and I walked without saying a word through the tall grass and blasted patches of dirt to our car. Behind us I could hear the camera shutter and the automatic winder, and the hum of flies and bees in the tall grass, and underneath those noises the sound of the child in the house, a hoarse, continual cry.

Nat stopped. "I'm going to get that baby," she said, walking toward the house.

I grabbed her by the arm. "Time to go, Nat."

Her arm felt limp under my fingers, and when I looked into her eyes, I found they were as empty as pieces of slate. We got in the car and navigated down the ruts in the yard; I don't think I breathed until we were back on the paved road.

"Those people were crazy," she said quietly.

"They were odd," I agreed.

We drove along, got on the highway entrance ramp.

"Did we do that to them, John?" she said.

"Honey," I told her, "those people were crazy long before they met us."

"That baby, for God's sake. Hell!"

She leaned into the car door, her elbow on the armrest and her head pressed against the glass. Her hair was pushed up on top of her head in a way that would have made her look funny if I had not known she was about to cry. I imagined that she was thinking about the road, about how when you have spent enough time driving from place to place, the headlights come off the highway and into your mind, and rank after rank of them glare in your eyes and you cannot close your eyes hard enough to make them disappear. And about gas stations and motel rooms and broken linoleum tiles and cheap offices that smelled like air freshener. And that every place, after a while, looks alike, and that if she had anyplace to go, she could leave me, and that she should be able to find a way to live that did not leave a steady, dull ache far down in her mind. She was probably thinking other things, too, but I was not sure what those things might be.

We drove on into Joplin. We did not have very far to go, but after Natalie fell asleep, the drive seemed to take forever, what with the silence in the car, and the wheels rolling evenly on the road, and the night coming on behind us. ☯



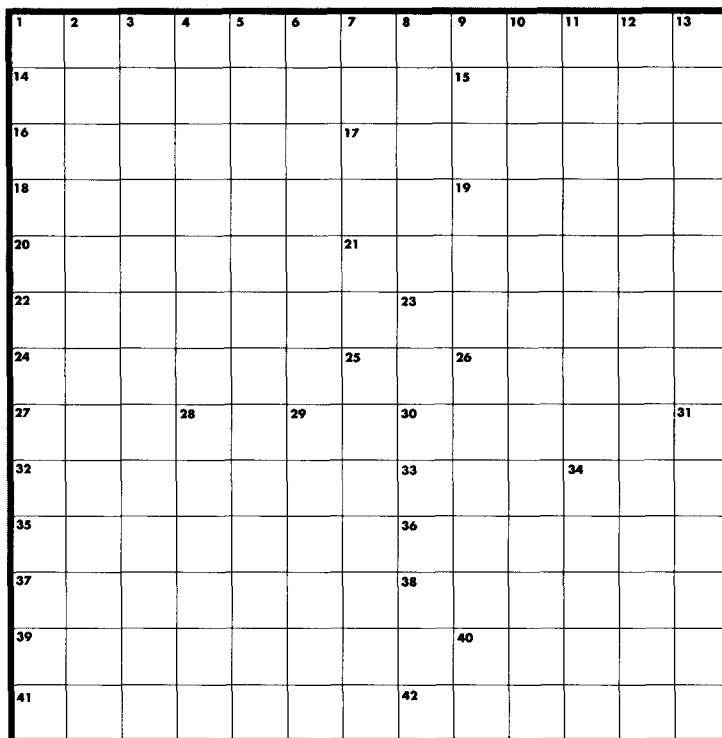
THE PUZZLER

by Emily Cox and Henry Rathvon

Secret Message

Answers to this puzzle's clues always begin in their correspondingly numbered squares in the diagram and proceed in the normal directions, Across and Down. Every square will contain a letter from an Across or a Down or both. When entering Across answers, solvers will need to skip squares containing non-intersecting Down letters, and vice versa. The diagram contains 56 "unches" (puzzlemakers' slang for squares containing letters that are "unchecked"—that is, found in only one word). These unches bear a secret message that will come to light, reading left to right and top to bottom, if you follow the entirely cross-checked three-word instruction at 24 Across. Answers include nine proper nouns.

See page 129 for Puzzler contest details.
The solution to last month's Puzzler appears on page 134.



Across

1. Bands tour surrounded by Secret Service (6)
7. Collects American dumbbells (7)
14. In Harlem, moppet turned knob (6)
15. Actor in *The A-Team* covering a store (4)
16. Wave pistol at first police in anger (6)
17. Throw out above-average amount of marijuana (6)
18. Battered auto carrying detective in *Fantasy Island*? (6)
19. Troubles going back to drink (4)
20. Source of cinnamon is switched in Mexican home (6)
21. A morbid playwright (6)
22. Scans energy agreement (4)
23. Top thirst off (6) (*hyphenated*)
27. Close of cipher in pink pen (6)
30. King passed around old religious book (5)
32. Roads with low-lying areas not opened (6)
33. Modest philosopher eating most of BLT (6)
35. 60s style in caps is ridiculously jerky (9)
37. Nimble soldier getting into booze (5)
38. For the most part, less alien dance music (6)
39. Returned beastly coat (6)
40. Indefinite number aboard a famous ship (4)
41. Capable of feeling tense as knots (7)
42. Laugh two times in a row (6)
7. A tawny cat catching bee in old England (6)
8. Hankering after married sing-along leader (5)
9. Entertains Seamus with juggling (6)
10. Painter worked as a model around Europe (6)
11. Half of *Cats* taken in by cast on the way up? (7)
12. Wipe out Equal Rights Amendment and quit, adopting new act (9)
13. Bungled the last covert action (7)
25. Manuela trained graduates (7)
26. Magician turning in card after 45 minutes?? (7)
27. Cellist failing a class (6)
28. Left among quantities of paper spheres (6)
29. Advancement representing small change (6)
31. Connect a reaction with sweet drink (6)
34. Greatest part of book on pipsqueak (5)
36. Drop note into portion of the Bible (4)

Down

1. Neatens up cress after tossing (7)
2. Swallowing last bit of cookie, you snicker (5) (*hyphenated*)
3. Troublemaker talks with operator during sort of talk show (11)
4. Put upon someone's crackers some dip (7)
5. Lay in seed money for Spaniards (6)
6. Watch leaf oozing (7)

Note: The instructions above are for this month's puzzle only. It is assumed that you know how to decipher clues. For a complete introduction to clue-solving, send an addressed, stamped long envelope to The Atlantic Puzzler, 745 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. 02116.



RICHARD LUDWIG/ZENITH PRODUCTIONS

An Independent Vision

Hal Hartley, a thirty-four-year-old writer and director, is quietly making some of the most original films of the nineties. His subject: the mystery-filled lives of characters living in intractably prosaic places

A GAS station fills a Long Island near-horizon, bathed in an exquisitely clean Hopper light. Mike, the attendant, dressed in the requisite grease-smearred overalls and moving among the gas pumps, picks up an electric guitar and sends the Elizabethan ballad "Greensleeves" blasting through the speakers. As he plays, a young man approaches, wheeling a broken motorcycle. Seeing him, Mike stops his playing and says, "*Bonjour, monsieur.*"

Maria, a big-haired teenage waif, an-

nounces to her parents over breakfast that she's pregnant. Her father, enraged, calls her a slut. Maria slaps his face and storms out of the house. As the door slams, her father drops to the floor, instantly dead of a heart attack. Speaking later of the episode, Maria's mother says, "With one slap [she] knocks him right out of my life! Incredible! I was amazed. The girl's a genius!"

Audry, an attractive young fatalist, somewhat reluctantly admits to her friend Pearl that she's interested in Josh, an enigmatic mechanic who's constantly being mistaken for a priest. Pearl has her own, quite significant history with Josh, but hearing Audry's news, she says she

approves. "You think so?" Audry says. "I mean after he killed your sister and your father?" Pearl ponders this and then shrugs. "Things happen," she says.

Welcome to the world of the filmmaker Hal Hartley. Or rather, welcome to the world, ours and his, as Hartley sees it. In his three feature films (*The Unbelievable Truth*, *Trust*, and *Simple Men*), five shorts, and one hour-long television movie, Hartley, just thirty-four years old, has created an original and confounding comic universe populated by characters whose notable aspect is the deadly seriousness with which they meet that confusion. They have, in the feature films to date, inhabited his native Long Island, which he renders as a place of extreme barrenness, cultural and physical. (Indeed, this Long Island has been Hartley's Yoknapatawpha County, though he has said in recent interviews that he is now done with it as a locale.) They are not especially savvy or, sometimes, even very bright. Their unguarded candor renders them susceptible to the routine hypocrisies and schemings of their families and neighbors. But if they're vulnerable, they also possess a potent and almost accidental retaliatory capability whose source is that same sober, straightforward pursuit of something, *someone*, to validate their struggle. Career- ing through the maze of daily life, they throw off powerful force fields of earnestness that can't help disrupting a world cynically certain of itself. As one Hartley heroine—the pregnant Maria of *Trust*—says of Matthew, a man she's met, "I like him the way he is."

"How is he?" asks her confidante, an abortion nurse named Paine.

"Dangerous," Maria says. "But sincere." "Sincerely dangerous?"

"No, dangerous *because* he's sincere."

Dangerously sincere: a Hartley protagonist exactly. And it's this characteristic tension in his films—between misfits and the hostile contemporary culture through which they move—that harks back on one level to some of the notable films of the 1970s, in which that same confrontation provided a fiercely intelligent dramatic spark. But whereas the societal desperadoes of seventies films collectively wore an armor of weary, all-too-knowing irony, Hartley's renegades exhibit,

Hal Hartley on the set of Amateur with Chuck Montgomery (left), David Simonds, and Elina Lowensohn

again, this all-too-baffled sincerity. Take Jack Nicholson's Bobby Dupea, in *Five Easy Pieces*: it's impossible to imagine any Hartley character displaying Bobby's verbal facility in the legendary chicken-salad-on-wheat order he gives the beleaguered diner waitress. Hartley's people have neither the inclination nor the intellectual glibness to deal with the world so mockingly, which may leave them unprotected from moment to moment, but also means they don't nourish quite the same ever-hardening alienation.

The literary critic Louis Menand has written of a certain type of protagonist in contemporary fiction that he is unable "to block out impulses in the interests of surviving as comfortably as possible, the way the rest of us do."

From the perspective of ordinary life, these characters are overreactors, transients, flakes. They approach the world with demands that are too serious; they are too easily affected by tiny changes in the cultural weather.

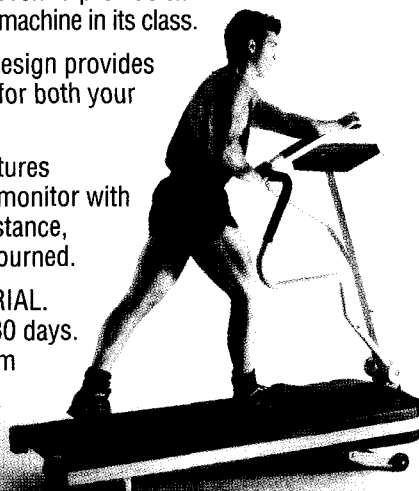
It is significant that Menand's observation, made in analyzing the strategy of a novelist who wants "to take the measure of the quality of contemporary life," applies so aptly to Hartley's central characters. For in essential ways his movies, with their quirky specificity and contemplative verbal pace, have more in common with literary fiction than with serious film, whatever that term has come to mean these days.

Which is not to say that Hartley's visual technique is simply serviceable. He's a former art student who liked to copy movie stills from old issues of *Sight and Sound* magazine as the basis for his paintings, and a striking compositional gift is evident in his films. Sometimes these compositions open a scene and thus invite notice. But more often they're integral and flow seamlessly past our eyes. In other words, Hartley has as a director already achieved a delicate cinematic balance: he brings an obsessive pictorial concern to his work, but he does not present the images so preciously that a viewer must stop watching to admire them. To return to a literary comparison, if a filmmaker's visual style is in a fundamental sense his way of using language, then Hartley's is one—to apply the rhetorician's vocabulary—that somehow gets us simultaneously to look *at* it and look *through* it to its meaning.

GREAT BODIES ARE MADE, NOT BORN.

THE PROFORM CROSSWALK. ONLY \$49.95 A MONTH FOR ONLY A YEAR.

- CROSS WALK is effective fitness, proven to provide twice the total body workout of any exercise machine in its class.
- CROSS WALK's unique dual action design provides the highest calorie burning workout for both your upper and lower body.
- CROSS WALK is easy to use and features ACCUSMART, the innovative fitness monitor with 5 LCD readouts that display time, distance, speed, pulse rate, and total calories burned.
- CROSS WALK's 30 DAY NO-RISK TRIAL. Try CROSSWALK in your home for 30 days. If you are not totally satisfied Proform will give you a complete refund.



CROSSWALK

To take advantage of this offer, call toll free:

1-800-274-0410 ext. D761



Major credit cards accepted
(interest rate will vary with
credit card used for purchase)

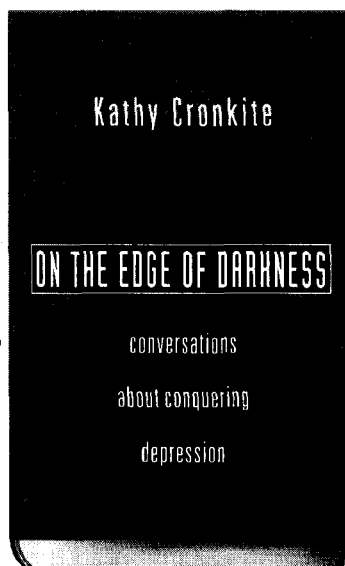
PRO-FORM

PROFORM Fitness Products, Inc.
A subsidiary of Weider Health & Fitness, Inc.
© 1993 All rights reserved

A major book of hope and healing

**People who have achieved great success
talk about their greatest triumph:
coping with—and conquering—depression.**

Mike Wallace,
Joan Rivers,
Kitty Dukakis,
Rona Barrett,
Rod Steiger,
Susan Crosby,
Jules Feiffer,
Judy Belushi-Pisano,
William Styron,
Rose Styron, and
twenty others—



including the
author herself—
discuss their
personal setbacks,
losses, and ordeals,
and their ultimate
victory over a
disease that
afflicts 24 million
Americans
every year.

A Book-of-the-Month
Club Selection

Available wherever books are sold

Doubleday

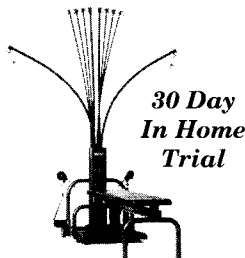
Good News

YOU CAN REVERSE AGING

Regardless of age, with regular strength and endurance exercise on the Bowflex Power Pro, you can build muscle, reversing the insidious decline in muscular strength, cardiovascular endurance, physical capacity, and metabolic function.

Superior Design

To insure results, your regular exercise program should incorporate sound technology. The Bowflex Power Pro utilizes superior Isotonic Power Rod® resistance and a Bilateral Cable Pulley System to provide you with the ability to perform 64 different, anatomically correct exercises.



30 Day
In Home
Trial



BOWFLEX
Different By Design For Better Results.

A Paradigm Shift

In the old way of strength exercise, machines controlled the bodies movement, thereby limiting natural form and function. With the Bowflex, you control the machine, setting yourself free to move naturally in any direction so you can perform multiple exercises, correctly, on a single machine.

To Get Your
Free Information
Kit, Please Call
1-800-BOWFLEX
(269-3539)



OR WRITE:
BOWFLEX
2200 NE 65th Ave..
Vancouver, WA 98661

©1994 Bow Flex, Inc.

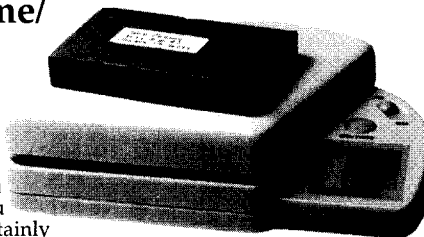
Stop guessing: Get the postage right every time, with ...

Rodelvox Electronic Home/Office Scale only \$69.95*

*But read this ad for an even better deal!

With postage rates going up and up you can no longer afford to guess at the weight of your letters and packages. You don't want your mail to be returned to you because of insufficient postage, and you certainly don't want to annoy your customers and your correspondents by having their mail delayed and having to pay deficiency postage. You can avoid all that with the *Rodelvox Electronic Home/Office Scale*. It is a little precision gem that quickly weighs letters and packages and reads out the exact weight—to a tenth of an ounce. The readout is in big, high-contrast LCD digits. You can read it even in the dimmest light. With a flick of a switch you can change to reading in grams, if you prefer. A "tare" button subtracts the container of anything you wish to weigh.

In contrast to other electronic scales, which are usually quite ugly, the *Rodelvox Electronic Scale* is a thing of beauty. It's molded of light-gray hi-impact plastic. It accommodates to any decor—traditional or functional—in any home or office. Another wonderful surprise is the price. We import these Scales in large quantities and are therefore able to bring them to you for just \$69.95. But we have an even better deal: *Buy two for \$139.90, and we'll send you a third one with our compliments—absolutely FREE!* Stop guessing, don't throw postage money down a rat hole, don't annoy your customers and friends, and give a professional touch to your personal and business mail. Get your *Rodelvox Electronic Home/Office Scale* today!



• The Scale works on four AA-batteries (yes, they are included!). Automatic cut-off circuitry turns the Scale off two minutes after last use—saving battery life. You should be able to make at least 10,000 weighings before changing batteries. Capacity of the Scale is 5 lbs./2 kgs.

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER
TOLL FREE (800) 797-7367
8 a.m. to 6 p.m., 7 days a week

For quantity orders (100+), call Peaches Jeffries,
our Wholesale/Premium Manager at (415) 543-
6675 or write her at the address below.

Please give order Code #1009A300. If you prefer, mail check or card authorization and expiration. We need daytime phone # for all orders and issuing bank for charge orders. Add \$4.95 standard shipping/insurance charge (plus sales tax for CA delivery). You have 30-day return and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

since 1967
haverhills®

185 Berry St., San Francisco, CA 94107

HARTLEY was born in Lindenhurst, Long Island, in 1959, and after high school and a year of studying art he transferred to the film school at the State University of New York at Purchase. There his fellow students included the cinematographer Michael Spiller and many of the actors with whom Hartley has made his films.

After graduating, he worked as an apprentice ironworker on construction sites and then took a job as a production assistant for a company in Manhattan that made public-service announcements, all the while writing and directing short films. Finally, after getting a loan, ostensibly to buy a computer, Hartley had a bit of the money for his first feature film. His employer, Jerome Brownstein, generously augmented this money with a \$55,000 investment, and has been Hartley's executive producer ever since.

The Unbelievable Truth, released in 1989, follows the aforementioned Josh as he returns home to Lindenhurst, where he'll soon meet Audry. He has just been released from prison, where he was sent for killing Pearl's father. He had gone over to apologize for killing Pearl's sister in a drunk-driving accident, and the two men got into a shoving match that caused the father to fall down the stairs (or did it?). Hartley's second feature, *Trust*, was released the following year and depicts Maria and Matthew, another bemused and seemingly mismatched couple, whose romance constitutes a sort of contemporary courtly love.

Simple Men, his most recent and best film, concerns the McCabe brothers—Bill, a hapless criminal, and Dennis, a philosophy student—and their search for their father, a former major-league baseball player who has lived in hiding since being charged with bombing the Pentagon in 1968 (he's sometimes referred to as "the radical shortstop"). Just after Bill has been double-crossed by his girlfriend and partner, losing both the girl and his share from a robbery he masterminded, he learns that his father has been arrested (and then hospitalized with a stroke). But when he and his brother go to see him, they're told he has escaped. So, armed with only a name and a Long Island phone number, they set off at Dennis's insistence to look for their father.

Particularly in *Simple Men*, Hartley presents Long Island as a most mysteri-

ous place. Though the McCabe brothers have apparently lived all their lives in urban New York-New Jersey, they seem not at all sure where Long Island is. When the train from the city deposits them, they appear utterly disoriented and step hesitantly away from the station and its nondescript surroundings. Their sense of dislocation soon proves justified, as they encounter, among other characters, a cigarette-sneaking nun who punches a policeman in the stomach and throws him to the ground, a beautiful Romanian epileptic, an earth-mother café owner nervously awaiting the return of her psychotic ex-husband, and a local sheriff in the throes of existential torment who is apt to say, in response to someone's greeting, "Look, I know life's just one big endless quagmire of futility, broken dreams, and smashed hopes!" All these folks and others dot the landscape in which the brothers seek their father, and although summarizing them risks sug-

actions . . . [his] work raises the specter of a 1990s Buster Keaton." This seems exactly right, and one might argue that Fuller's point should even be expanded. For in the particularity of the actors' revelations, in the witty orchestration of their interaction and their normally harmless slapstick (people are always ritualistically slapping and punching and shoving one another; alone or in groups, people are always fainting), Hartley's films wonderfully evoke the silent era in general—especially when they're considered in the context of current Hollywood films. In other words, it could be said that alongside the witless cacophony of most movies that surround his, Hartley is a bracing anachronism: his sensual subtlety makes him figuratively our silent-film maker.

When one makes comparisons, Jean-Luc Godard also comes quickly to mind, because of Hartley's similarly deadpan register and his camera's anarchic van-

tague points. Too, the fastidiously parceled energy of his work resembles that of another French director, Robert Bresson, and Hartley has eagerly acknowledged the influence:

Bresson cuts right past everything that's superfluous and isolates an image that says exactly what it's meant to say. . . . Every single frame

of his films conveys meaning, even if it's an image of someone sitting with nothing to say.

THE screenplays of *Trust* and *Simple Men* have been published in a book by Faber and Faber, and reading them, one immediately observes that in print they look like plays—they're meticulously, thoroughly *written*. It's not surprising, then, that the words spoken in the films match the scripts almost precisely. Hartley's dialogue has been compared to Harold Pinter's and David Mamet's, for its "stylized accent on the words," as Graham Fuller puts it. The comparison to Mamet seems especially fitting, because he, too, insists, as a director of his own



RICHARD LUDWIG/FINE LINE FEATURES

Robert John Burke and Karen Sillas in *Simple Men*

gesting an unbridled farce, Hartley keeps the film so restrained that its tone is in fact droll.

Simple Men extends the look and feel that typify his work, from the hauntingly simple guitar music, which Hartley himself composed, to the economical cinematography, to the characters' tamped-down emotions and even the way they sometimes move among one another as if choreographed. And though this texture is unarguably his own, it can be seen as deriving, whether consciously or not, from the earliest moving pictures. Assessing Hartley, the editor and critic Graham Fuller has written, "In its meditativity, its bitten-back romanticism, its inherent fatalism, and its casually seismic

FREE TASTING SAMPLE

SWEET VIDALIA ONIONS!

Get an extra 2 lb. sackful with your order and TRY'EM FREE. Thrill to their crisp bite and unique sweet flavor—or return your order for a no-questions refund. Keep the 2 lb. sample FREE!

10 lbs.	25 lbs.	
\$12.95	\$29.95	
+2 lbs.	+2 lbs.	
FREE	FREE	(add \$2.50 shipping)



EXTRA! Sweet Onion Recipes & Storage Secrets FREE!

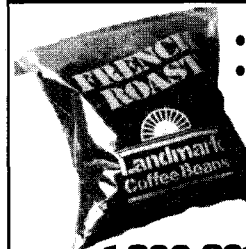
LIMITED OFFER
1-800-241-7013



CALL NOW!

P.O. Box 1648, Reidsville, GA 30453 Dept. AT56

COFFEE



- Freshly roasted
 - Fine quality
- COFFEE BEANS

Warehouse prices
Example: French Roast
2 lbs./\$7.25
plus shipping

1-800-821-8184

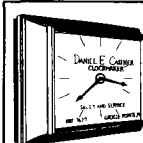
Delivered fresh to your home or office

**Landmark
CoffeeBeans**

200 ARLINGTON WAY, MENLO PARK, CA 94025

MAKE MONEY AT HOME

Be a Medical Transcriptionist full or part-time...we train you at home in your spare time. No previous experience necessary. If you type, or are willing to learn, you can make from \$15,000 to \$30,000 a year at home typing medical histories from audio cassettes dictated by doctors. Get free facts! No obligation! Call toll-free... 1-800-475-0100...or write At-Home Professions, 2001 Lowe St., Dept. GTM44, Fort Collins, CO 80525. M112



11 1/4" H X 13 3/4" W
Daniel E. Castner P.O. Box 24355 Detroit, MI 48224-9998

Personalized Wall Clocks

For office or home, made from your business card. Walnut or Black finish frames. \$49.95 and \$59.95 plus SH. For information Call or Write (313) 881-7627

A Clear View of Europe

This clear view of Europe is actually a composite image, created from dozens of satellite photographs, seamlessly integrated to provide an unusually cloud-free perspective.

G.T. Global applies a similar process to managing money, integrating a clear global perspective with hands-on local market expertise.

Our Strategy in Europe Our worldwide investment team considers, as all investors should, the impact of currency fluctuations and economic and political change on global markets. Last year, they recognized that the U.S. environment—a combination of low inflation and low interest rates—was part of a global phenomenon which would spread to Europe.

Interest rates in several European countries have indeed fallen in recent months, and we expect the trend will continue.* Our London-based investment team has shifted the European portion of our portfolios to take advantage of this dynamic.

*G.T. Global's ability to correctly predict or assess global economic trends is not guaranteed.

The G.T. Global Advantage This combination of global perspective and local market knowledge contributes to our clear view of Europe—and the world.

We have used this approach to global investing since G.T. Global was founded in 1969. Today, we manage more than \$20 billion for institutional and individual investors worldwide.

If you are considering investing in Europe—or anywhere else in the world—consult your financial advisor or call G.T. Global. You will receive more complete information including a prospectus for the G.T. Global Mutual Funds (discussing charges, expenses, and the risks of global investing). Please read the prospectus carefully before you invest.

1-800-824-1580

G.T. Global Financial
Services, Inc., Distributor
50 California Street, 27th Floor
San Francisco, CA 94111



G.T. GLOBAL

*When you invest for your future,
think global...G.T. Global.*

London
Hong Kong

Singapore
Tokyo

Sydney
San Francisco



World Perspectives, San Rafael, CA; ©C.E. Henderson, 1993

screenplays, on a certain flatness of tone. But where Mamet's actors sometimes speak his words with such monotonous rhythmic emphasis as to sound lobotomized, Hartley's direction, if as firm, appears finally more flexible. Perhaps Hartley is a comparably benign dictator, but in any case the result, for me, is a kind of stylized naturalness, more successful in its straddling of reality and artifice than Mamet's film work.

A moment from *The Unbelievable Truth* serves to illustrate this point. Josh is sitting in a restaurant, brooding over the circumstantially elusive Audry, when he's joined by a young waitress who has had her eye on him. "I know what you need," she says by way of starting the conversation.

"Excuse me?" Josh says.

"You need a woman."

"Oh?" Josh says.

"That girl's crazy."

"I know," Josh says, "but I like her."

"She's leaving town."

"So I've heard."

"So come on," the waitress offers, "whaddya say?" And then she repeats her opening line—"I know what you need"—and the two of them proceed through the same exchange *exactly* word for word, not just a second time but a third, a fourth, and most of a fifth. And although their conversation is clearly one of intended artifice, the characters speak it with just enough variation each time to make it also sound arguably plausible, reminding us that people—when insistent, when distracted—often do converse at this extreme of deaf unconsciousness.

Still, it's understandable why some viewers might grow impatient with the films' generally astringent emotional displays. As filmgoers, as audiences for any work of fiction, we impose our personal frames of tolerance on unconventional work: one man's mainstream is another's surreality. Which is by way of saying that certain of Hartley's stylized elements—a character's droning of some philosophic catchphrase; conversations composed of alternating parallel monologues—have seemed to me too segregated and affective, have fallen outside my personal frame of tolerance, the balance of reality and artifice lost to overly burnished conceits. *Surviving Desire*, Hartley's sixty-minute PBS movie, especially suffers from these excesses. Having read about

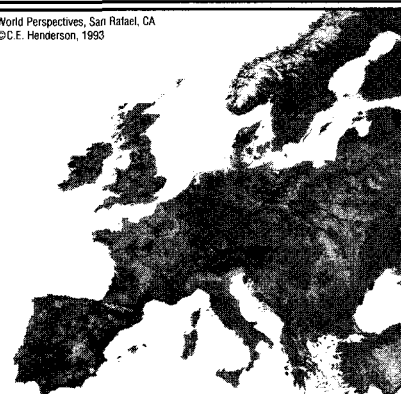
but not yet seen his films, I made certain to watch *Surviving Desire*, the story of a brief love affair between a college literature professor and one of his students, and disliked it so much that I decided I was not a sympathetic audience for Hartley's work. But after being talked into seeing the superb *Simple Men*, I was eager to find the earlier features, and I thought them less consistently wonderful but overall almost as fine.

For all the merit of the work, however, Hartley's importance at this juncture in American film may have most to do with the fact that he dares to make smart, small pictures that won't please everyone, and—just as impressive—he's found a way financially to do so. There's little doubt that Hartley wants audiences to embrace his movies. There's nothing negative about them, no hint of a perverse desire to alienate viewers. But they are so idiosyncratically his own vision that they risk the possibility that people—perhaps even many people—will reject them.

THE film journal *Projections* has recently printed a yearlong diary kept by the English director John Boorman, whose many films include *Hope and Glory*, *The Emerald Forest*, *Deliverance*, and *Point Blank*. One observation of Boorman's speaks to Hartley's noteworthiness. Lamenting his failure to find the millions necessary to fund one of his projects, Boorman writes, "My sin in the past has been to make films on movie budgets." Hartley's virtue has been to make films on film budgets. Using the homes of his relatives, employing actors who were friends from graduate school, he made *The Unbelievable Truth* for \$75,000. And because he and Michael Spiller are so skilled, because many of his friends are such fine actors, the result was a visually and dramatically rich film that attracted much attention at prestigious festivals and won a distribution deal for a lot more than it cost to make. Although each successive film has been more expensive than its predecessor (*Simple Men* cost \$2 million—chump change in Hollywood), Hartley has followed much the same course ever since.

Will he continue to? Certainly one could say that the splendid intimacy of scale in Hartley's work was born in part

World Perspectives, San Rafael, CA
© C.E. Henderson, 1993



Old World. New Opportunities.

At G.T. Global, we believe Europe today offers exciting investment opportunities.

We see economic revival in European markets and industries due to falling interest rates, declining trade barriers, and deregulation.

The G.T. Group knows Europe. We've been there since 1969. We know the stock markets, the companies, and their managements. And our **G.T. Europe Growth Fund** was the *first* open-end U.S. mutual fund to invest in Europe.

The Fund's experienced European investment team actively invests in companies across Europe that we believe offer superior growth potential in this new economic environment.

\$100 IRA minimum (\$500 non-IRA).

**For a Clear View of
Investing in Europe call**

1-800-824-1580



**G.T. GLOBAL
EUROPE GROWTH FUND**

50 California St., 27th Fl., San Francisco, CA 94111

London
Hong Kong

Singapore
Tokyo

Sydney
San Francisco



☐ **YES!** Please send me your free special report, *Investing in the New Europe*, with a prospectus containing more complete information, including charges, expenses and the risks associated with global investing, including political and currency risks. I will read the prospectus carefully before investing. G.T. Global Financial Services, Inc., Dist. **MAT4**

Name

Street

City

State/Zip

Daytime Phone ()

**When you invest for your future,
think global...G.T. Global.**

You deserve a factual look at...

A Demilitarized Palestinian State Should Israel, should the world rely on it?

Even those most sanguine about the current peace negotiations are agreed that the Palestinian entity to be founded should be demilitarized. A demilitarized "West Bank" and Gaza Strip, it is believed, would do away with any military threat to the state of Israel.

What are the facts?

Israel surrounded by implacable foes. The countries that surround Israel are its deadly enemies. With the exception of Egypt, all other Arab states are still in a declared state of war with Israel. Iran, Moslem though not Arab, lurks in the background, its foremost military and political objective being the destruction of the state of Israel.

The PLO, is a terror organization that has only one purpose: to kill Jews and to

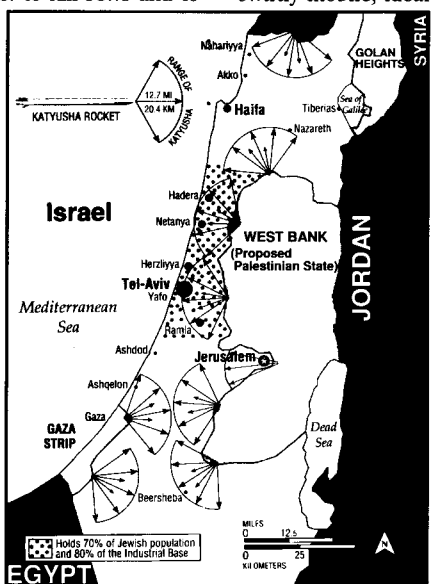
destroy the state of Israel. While the latter objective is beyond its reach, it has been most successful in the former. It seems almost incomprehensible that a group as supposedly levelheaded as the government of Israel would have entered into a "peace agreement" with such an organization. Not surprisingly, events since the famous "handshake" confirm such skepticism. The PLO has totally ignored Israel's main requirement, namely that it forswear the clause in its

"covenant" that calls for the destruction of Israel. Arafat and his lieutenants continue

to make blood-curdling speeches to the Arab public, in which they re-assert their old goal of destroying Israel in "stages".

The myth of demilitarization. The assumption that "Palestine" would be demilitarized is not tenable. The Arab nations would not allow it. But mobilization of the "demilitarized" Palestine wouldn't really be required. The weapons of preference of Arab terrorists are the Soviet-made Katyusha rockets, highly effective missiles, truck-mounted and swiftly mobile, ideal for hit-and-run raids

against Israel. A look at the map makes clear that these rockets, short-range though they may be, would literally dominate the heartland of Israel. Easily moved and hidden along Israel's new eastern borders—to be increased from about 40 miles to over 200 miles—they would rain destruction over most of Israel—covering in their entirety Israel's narrow waist that holds 70% of the Jewish population of the country, 80% of its industrial



A Palestinian state—demilitarized?

The Arabs danced on the roofs of their houses when Iraqi Scud missiles fell on Tel Aviv during the Gulf War. Since the signing of the "peace agreement" they have continued in unrestrained terror and murder against the Jews—and against each other. Their hatred is undiminished and their avowed intention to destroy Israel has not been forsworn—in fact, it has repeatedly been re-affirmed. Only incurable optimists can believe that an "autonomous" Palestine would wish to become a peaceful neighbor of Israel. If Israel ceded the Gaza Strip—the invasion route since before biblical times—and Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") to its sworn enemies it would make the country indefensible. Tanks, warplanes, and missiles would only be needed for the final mopping-up process. In the meantime, mortars and Katyushas located on the Judean ridges—Israel's proposed new borders—would suffice to neutralize life and industrial and military activity in Israel.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic about the Middle East

P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit 501(c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

Yes, I want to help in the publication of these ads and in clarifying the situation in the Middle East. I include my tax-deductible contribution in the amount of \$ _____ AT/48

☐ My contribution is in the amount of \$50 or more. Please send me your booklet containing 24 of the ads that you have published in national media over the last few years.

My name is _____

I live at _____

In _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail to FLAME P.O. Box 590359 San Francisco, CA 94159

of financial necessity. But it has also seemed to be the way he sees the world and the way he wants to film the world he sees. Still, his next picture, *Amateur*, is set in New York City and features Isabelle Huppert. As he moves away from Long Island's donated family homes and expands his casts beyond an exclusive ensemble of friends and acquaintances, will his films lose that appealing spareness? Well, lest we worry prematurely, he has shot in New York City many times before, and *Amateur*'s co-star, Martin Donovan, has appeared prominently in much of what Hartley has done. Furthermore, the story concerns an amnesiac who wakes up on the streets of Manhattan and meets an ex-nun who has become a porno writer, though she's still a virgin. Together they set out to discover who the amnesiac really is. Hearing this synopsis, one does not think of Arnold Schwarzenegger for a part.

Nevertheless, it will be interesting to watch Hartley's future—whether and how his work changes if it remains relatively unknown. Although widely distributed in Europe and Australia, his pictures have played only fleetingly in a scattered handful of American cities and, except at festivals, hardly anywhere else in this country. As Stanley Kauffmann asks at the end of a review, in *The New Republic*, of *Simple Men*, "How long will [Hartley] have to wait for his own country to recognize him adequately?" This might be a particularly vexing problem for a director who has shown again and again that even if his own country does not recognize him, he most perceptively recognizes it.

Explaining that he was busy getting ready to make his new picture, Hartley himself politely declined to speak to any of these questions when I called him, which seems significant: how many still-obscure directors would pass up the opportunity to publicize their work? But a former assistant to Hartley, when asked about the prospect of Hartley's working in major-studio Hollywood, said, "Hal would work with big stars. He would work with bigger budgets. He has nothing against that. But what he wouldn't do is lose any control. He's completely against that."

Perhaps in that statement lies the answer to the question. Anyone who loves movies should surely hope so. ☼



Serious Fun

Educational software for children, from companies that know their customers

CHILDREN today know that a mouse isn't always a rodent and that a hard drive isn't just something that makes people carsick. About a third of American households now have a personal computer, and, accordingly, new software for

children seems to appear almost daily. Parents, of course, are interested in software that is creative, easy to use, and educational. They want it to support what their children are learning (or supposed to be learning) in school. More specifically, they want programs to help their chil-

dren improve general skills, such as problem-solving and decision-making, and specific skills, from grammar to geometry. Parents also want software that gives access to broad fields of knowledge such as history, geography, and science. What

most parents do not want is more junk: dumb, shoot-'em-up, or R-rated games. A handful of software companies understand this, and they produce programs that parents will approve of and children will enjoy.

One such company is Edmark, founded in 1970 by two researchers from the Uni-

versity of Washington and now based in Redmond, Washington. Edmark's focus was initially the classroom, but it has recently expanded into the home market. Since 1992 Edmark has released KidDesk, Millie's Math House, Bailey's Book House, and Thinkin' Things. Each one comes with a pamphlet called *Parent's Guide to Educational Software for Young Children*, which includes a solid list of questions to frame parents' basic expectations. Here's a sampling: "Can the child operate this software independently?" "Does the child control the path of the software: can the child move in and out of activities or sections when s/he desires?" "Does the software provide children with a visual or auditory response when the child clicks on an object or character?" Good questions, all of them.

Many programs do not meet even these criteria, let alone the more substantive ones touched on above. But dozens of others are worth looking into—including all the ones discussed in this article, produced by Edmark, The Learning Company, Davidson & Associates, Max- is, MECC, and Broderbund. These companies are experts on children: what engages them, what makes them laugh, what makes them feel confident, what they are learning in school and at what age. They take pains to know the customer. As they develop new products, they conduct extensive field tests with the end users: children.

As good as this software can be, many well-intentioned parents shudder at the thought of sharing a computer with their children, because they don't want them to wander into adult files—the household financial data, for example, or a novel in progress. Fortunately, several special utility programs can set aside this concern. Edmark's KidDesk is a good example: install it, and when a child turns on the computer he whirs past the ordinary start-up screen, or desktop, and goes to a personalized desktop with a custom menu of child-appropriate programs. Adults can easily access hidden programs by pressing a couple of keys. It's like putting your most precious books on the top shelf but leaving the ones you'd like the children to read within their reach.

by Sarah Finnie Rockwell

not want is more junk: dumb, shoot-

CRUCIAL to any program is the “interface,” the way in which a program presents itself to a user. The interface is present throughout every session with a program, but a child’s first impression of it is crucial. Buying a program is therefore a little bit like hiring a new babysitter for the evening. A brawny high school senior in Nikes who organizes a game of capture the flag within fifteen minutes will generate a response different from the one elicited by a grandmotherly type who rings the doorbell holding *Winnie the Pooh* and her knitting bag. Either way, chances are the children will be safe, fed, and in bed when their parents get home, but the experience will have been very different for the children. Similarly, a program’s interface determines how a child will relate to the program. If the interface is effective and the child feels comfortable, he’ll stay with it, have fun, and learn whatever the program has to offer. Broderbund’s informal interface-design policy is that the user should know what to do within fifteen seconds, and all companies aim for an intuitive interface that quickly draws attention away from the underlying technology.

Children’s software is further defined by its treatment of the content. Kids love to learn through exploration. Software designers call this “divergent,” or open-ended, learning. Purely divergent programs tend to be just plain fun and don’t try to teach anything specific, though it’s likely that the child will learn something interesting along the way. At the very least, a software designer would say, the child’s confidence and self-esteem are bolstered by the positive experience of controlling the tools to explore the program’s environment. Since there are no wrong answers, a child who spends time with an open-ended program is not likely to get frustrated.

Memorizing a spelling list or multiplication tables is “convergent” learning; there is one right answer, and that’s it. Problems naturally fall into the convergent or the divergent category, but the remarkable capabilities of computer technology blur the distinction. A good software designer can create a multifarious, entertaining, divergent environment that happens to include a convergent segment on counting money and making change, or on telling time. Mediocre software commonly seems limited, flat, as

two-dimensional as a blackboard. There is no balance of convergent and divergent, no depth to the approach, and the result is a boring program. One measure of a terrific program is that its limits will elude even the savviest user through several sittings.

Now let me describe several topnotch children’s programs and provide a glimpse of their technological and conceptual underpinnings. All the programs are available in both IBM-compatible and Macintosh versions unless otherwise noted. The first three programs deal with the “three Rs” and reflect the curricula of traditional preschools and elementary schools. Programs in the second group integrate any number of subjects, often in the context of an expedition or a simulated environment. The final program, from Broderbund, is in a class by itself.

WE’LL start with Millie’s Math House, produced by Edmark, meant for children aged two to six. Everything in it—except for the onscreen parent’s guide—is appropriate for children of that age group. Because Millie’s Math House is designed for nonreaders, the interface looks exclusively pictorial; the opening screen has music, but no words are displayed. What the child sees is Millie, a brown cow, sitting in front of her colorful six-room house. The interface is responsive: click almost anywhere on the screen and something happens. If you click on one of the six rooms—each of which contains material geared toward teaching a subject such as patterns, counting, or body parts—the screen changes. In all the rooms Millie’s face appears in the lower left-hand corner. The child quickly discovers that whenever he clicks on Millie, he’ll return to the initial screen. This ability to return to familiar territory quickly is a security blanket. And the thinking behind it extends to giving the child a choice between divergent and convergent activities: Each of the six rooms runs in “Explore and Discover” mode (divergent) unless the child decides to change it to “Question and Answer” mode (convergent). Again, control is in the child’s hands. The software doesn’t

abandon him somewhere frustrating.

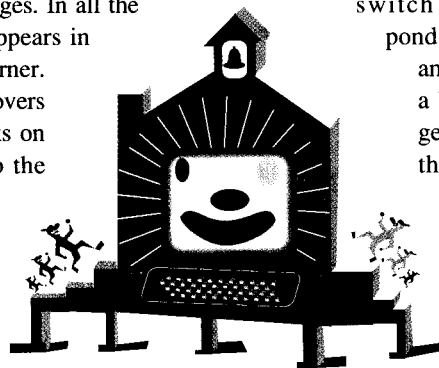
A number of software titles are designed to help slightly older children with reading. Some of them are bilingual or multilingual. Reader Rabbit 2, from The Learning Company, is designed for children aged five to eight. Like the rest of the Reader Rabbit series, Reader Rabbit 2 is a masterly blend of divergent and convergent approaches. Four engaging games bring to life a no-nonsense agenda of vowel sounds and rhymes, compound words, consonant clusters, vowel pairs, antonyms, homonyms, and alphabetization.

In Reader Rabbit 2’s Vowel Pond, for example, the child sees a school of word-emblazoned fish. The computer then utters a vowel sound, and the child tries to net the fish whose word contains that sound. In the Match Patch the child pairs rhymes arranged Concentration-style in a carrot patch. Each of the games operates on four levels of difficulty, which parents can adjust to meet the child’s needs, and which the computer will adjust automatically if the child is having difficulty. On a computer, as in real life, when a child makes mistakes, it’s important that he be encouraged to learn from them. If the computer in effect tells him to put on a dunce cap and sit in the corner, he might well turn it off. Better for him to be reassured and given the chance to try again. No dunce caps here: if the child picks a carrot with a word that doesn’t rhyme, the gopher is just as happy to plunge the carrot back into the hole, and the child can try again. The child doesn’t tire of learning

this way, because he can switch readily from the pond to the carrot patch and then to a mine or a barn. And he won’t get frustrated, because the program absorbs incorrect answers with such aplomb.

What about writing? Most word-processing programs

for children incorporate illustration, but Davidson’s Kid Works 2 goes one step further: it blends words, illustration, and speech. The program uses a text-to-speech technology provided by First Byte, a Davidson subsidiary. With a click the word “bird” turns into a picture of a bird



Job hunting? How well can YOU answer these 64 toughest interview questions?

BY GARY BENCIVENGA

It's a war out there.

Competition for executive job openings has grown so fierce that a single help-wanted ad in a major newspaper can pull in 1,000-2,000 resumes. That's up to seven full-size mail sacks stuffed with resumes—from a single ad.

Faced with this over-supply of applicants, hiring companies have grown extremely picky. They're interviewing scores of candidates before deciding. And, to whittle down the list, they're asking *tougher questions* than ever.

What kind of questions? And what are your best ways to answer? That's the subject of a riveting new report, *How to Answer the 64 Toughest Interview Questions*.

Privately published and not available in bookstores, this quick-reading report can give you an enormous edge if you're job hunting. It's based on extensive research with hiring executives, recruiters, outplacement officers and other experts on how to get hired. It even incorporates the results of videotaped studies, conducted through two-way mirrors by placement services and leading universities. These studies have actually identified what *the most successful* job candidates do differently than others to win more job offers.

Of greatest value, the report reveals the answers that hiring executives *love* to hear, answers that make them want to hire one candidate above others.

For example, it reveals exactly how to respond to tough questions such as:

- ☐ "Why should I hire you?" (*Every interviewer wants the right answer to this question. The report tells how to give it—a little-known, extremely effective strategy for positioning yourself as the #1 candidate.*)
- ☐ "Where can you use some improvement?" (*Most candidates think the smart answer is to disguise a virtue as a flaw, as in, "Sometimes I push my people too hard." But savvy interviewers see right through this ploy. The report reveals a much better way to answer.*)
- ☐ "Aren't you overqualified?"
- ☐ "Why have you been out of work for so long?"
- ☐ "Describe a time when your work was criticized."
- ☐ "Name two weak points of your previous boss." (*Beware—a trap!*)
- ☐ "Name one thing you would do over in your life."

- ☐ "Why aren't you making more money by now?"
- ☐ "How do you feel about working nights and weekends?"...."Will you relocate or travel?" (*Even if you won't, DON'T say "no" and close the door just yet!*)
- ☐ "How could you have done better in your last job?"
- ☐ "How many hours a week do you normally work?"
- ☐ "Where do you see yourself five years from now?"
- ☐ "Sell me this stapler (or pen, etc.)."
- ☐ "Tell me about something you did in your life that makes you feel ashamed." (*You feel like answering, "None of your business," but don't! The right answering strategy preserves your privacy, charms your interviewer and earns his or her respect at the same time.*)

There are dozens more. All can easily be turned to your advantage *if* you know how. Blow any of them and you could lose out on a dream job. The report tells how to answer them all masterfully, naturally and in your own words, so your answers don't sound canned. As a result, you'll walk into any interview feeling much better prepared, more confident. And you'll inevitably make a stronger impression. Indeed, having this report is like having the answers *before* you take a final exam.

Job-seekers interested in gaining every possible edge can obtain this unique report for only \$49.95, on a risk-free, money-back guarantee basis, by calling the 800 phone number below.

5 Additional Free Bonuses

Readers of *The Atlantic* who respond immediately will also receive these five additional free bonuses:

FREE BONUS #1: Interviews That Win Jobs. This free bonus report, currently selling nationally for \$49.95, reveals:

- ☐ The simple 12-word sentence that will make you the #1 candidate more often than you'd ever believe.
- ☐ 11 ways to get interviewers to like you.
- ☐ How to make yourself three times more likely to get hired.
- ☐ **Interview Etiquette Checklist:** Many unwritten rules you may be breaking.
- ☐ Worst day of the week, worst time of day to schedule an interview. Your odds of getting hired are very low.
- ☐ The 25 biggest interview turnoffs.
- ☐ As revealed in *Forbes*, there's one quirky personality trait 98% of interviewers *love* to see. *Let them!*

- ☐ Mistake made by 90% of those fired from a prior job. *It can guarantee you won't be hired again soon!*

- ☐ How to skyrocket your number of job offers by making interviewers feel *SAFE* in hiring you.

You'll also discover how to make nervousness and body language work for you....How to wow them with your qualifications without sounding braggish....The three qualities interviewers prize *most*....How skilled interviewers can detect when you're lying or even "stretching," and....How to "close the sale"—the best strategy for making the "short list" of finalists and getting invited back to hear the most welcome question of all, *"How soon can you start?"*

FREE BONUS #2: Red-Hot Cover Letters that generate 50%-100% more interviews. Little-known formula works like a charm. Many examples.

FREE BONUS #3: Get a Job NOW! Probably the fastest, most effective plan ever devised for getting a new job *NOW*.

FREE BONUS #4: Negotiate Your Best Compensation Package. Ways to make yourself more desirable and boost your compensation by up to 25%-50% or more....The "diplomat's secret" for winning more in any negotiation....How to make your bargaining position stronger, even if you're out of work....The innocent ploy that gets the employer to say what he'll *pay* before you reveal what you'd *accept*....The only way to know if you're getting top dollar....**Compensation Checklist:** every fringe and perk to consider when comparing offers.

FREE BONUS #5: The Greatest Job-Finding Secret. So powerful, this strategy generated multiple job offers even in the Great Depression. This one simple secret instantly puts you among the most successful of all job-seekers.

All this for \$49.95 (+\$4.00 shipping & handling). Call now (24 hours, toll-free):

1-800-862-8000, ext. 362

Ask for *How to Answer the 64 Toughest Interview Questions* plus the **five free reports**. Your reports will be rushed to you by 2-day Priority Mail. Or mail a check for same rush service to: **Benci-Ventures, Inc. 662 Franklin Ave., Suite 312-A1 Garden City, NY 11530** One-year full-money-back guarantee on all orders. *These strategies must work, or you pay nothing.*

© 1994, Benci-Ventures, Inc.

A1

Now enjoy brilliant college lectures in your home or car

Audio and video recordings of **SUPERSTAR TEACHERS®** — professors ranked highest by students at top universities.

These are fascinating courses in philosophy, psychology, literature, history, religion, even astronomy, poetry and music.

The lecturers are so inspiring they teach to packed classrooms at such schools as Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Columbia, Brown.

If you have ever experienced the sheer joy of learning from a great teacher, you are sure to appreciate the importance of this significant new advance in higher education.

Mail coupon for FREE catalog or call:

1-800-832-2412

Ask for Operator 587.



The Teaching Company

Dept. 573 - 7405 Alban Station Court
Suite A107, Springfield, VA 22150

Please send your free catalog of audio and video lectures by **SUPERSTAR TEACHERS®** - professors from top universities.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE _____ ZIP _____

EXCELENTE!

"La cortina está atascada" (The curtain is stuck.) But you won't be, with the **Berlitz Spanish Cassette Pack**

Includes 90 minute interactive cassette and the world's best-selling phrase book, organized thematically with a unique color coded system

And it all comes in a case no bigger than a paperback.

Consult your bookseller or call 1-800-526-8047

BERLITZ

The word for excellence worldwide.

NATURAL AMERICAN SPIRIT
CIGARETTES



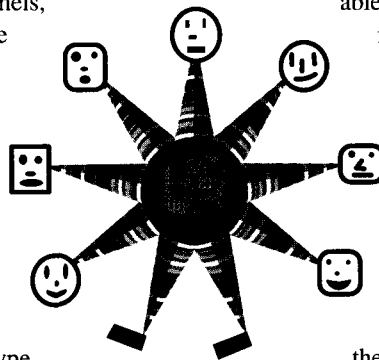
100% ADDITIVE-FREE
NATURAL TOBACCO

NATURAL AMERICAN SPIRIT tobacco and cigarettes. 100% free of chemical additives. If you use tobacco the way Native Americans intended, or if you smoke out of choice rather than habit...here is an alternative you should try. By sending \$1 for each sample pack of your choosing—**FILTER; NON-FILTER; FILTER-MENTHOLATED; AND/OR POUCH OF LOOSE TOBACCO**—you certify that you are of legal age to purchase tobacco products, and we'll ship your sample order the day we receive it. Please:

No request for multiples of the same item. POB 25140, Sample Request Dept. ATL6, Santa Fe, NM 87504. Charge telephone sample orders (\$4.00) to MC/V (800)-332-5595

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Quitting Smoking Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health

and then back again. With another click the computer reads the word—or any portion of the text. The child can use the hundreds of text-picture-speech combinations that are stored in the program, or he can create his own. To do so, he would first use built-in painting tools to create a picture. Let's say he painted some pyramids and camels, and named his picture "Egypt." The computer hasn't been programmed to pronounce "Egypt," but it will sound it out as best it can. The child can improve the pronunciation with the program's speech editor: he can type in a "sounds like" spelling (EE-JIPT), click on the thumbs-up button, and hear it that way forever.



THE programs in the second group go beyond tasks, by incorporating an intricate web of elements and scenarios that allow for experimentation. Often called simulation programs, they help teach decision-making and problem-solving. The simulation concept is easy for children to grasp, because their world is full of what-ifs. My eight-year-old son regarded a twenty-foot-high rock on the Atlantic coast last summer and asked, "What if you brought all the people in the world here—could you lift up that rock?" Then, eyes widening, "How many people are there in the world?" And, "If you asked all the people in the world to start on this beach holding hands, could they tread water across the Atlantic Ocean and reach the other side?" Further, "What would happen if a hurricane came along?"

Simulation programs are ideal for inquisitive young minds. Typically these programs are labeled "for ages ten to adult," but most grammar-school children find them irresistible, especially if they receive help from an older person. In SimLife (published by Maxis), for one, the child creates and manipulates a burgeoning ecosystem. Kid CAD (published by Davidson and currently available for Windows only) lets him design, decorate, landscape, populate, and manipulate a three-dimensional building in a choice of settings.

SimCity (Maxis) and The Oregon Trail

(MECC) together exemplify the range of the genre. They have vastly different content—SimCity's is urban planning, The Oregon Trail is a covered-wagon journey—but their underlying technology is similar. The child chooses from a number of interdependent variables that shape the experience. When he alters one variable, the computer alters the rest in a cascade of linked changes. In SimCity, for instance, if you install a police station, your crime rate will decrease. This causes your popularity rating to rise, but then the citizenry becomes aware of the attendant tax hike, your rating plummets, and you must consider new solutions. Beyond the factors that can be manipulated are some that can't: random variables that the computer cycles through and delivers at will—a hurricane, a baby boom, or a measles epidemic, for example.

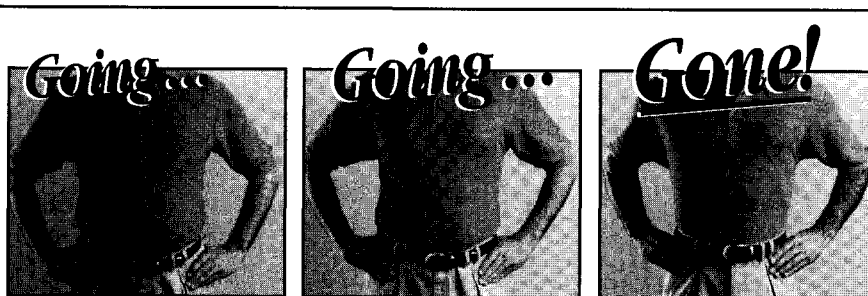
A measure of the open-endedness of The Oregon Trail is that even its designer, Steve Splinter, isn't sure of the best way to reach the end of the trail. "If you choose 'banker' from the professional options at the outset," he explains, "you have a lot of money, and there's the probability that you'll buy the right combination of supplies. Then again, if you choose 'carpenter,' your skill set will enable you to repair a busted wagon axle. Every day there is a chance that something will go wrong—weather is a big factor—so it's best to go fast. But health is affected adversely by speed. It's a high-risk, high-gain thing. There's an element of mastery to it."

"Simulation games are very powerful," says Sally Narodick, Edmark's chief executive officer. "I drive a carpool of seven-year-olds to school, all of whom happen to be blessed with a computer at home, and I've heard them talking about SimCity. One child says to another, 'I figured out that if you build all residential buildings in a straight line, the railroads can go in straight, which costs less, and there are fewer traffic jams, so the pollution index is better.' Another kid says, 'When I put in nuclear-power plants, the pollution index goes down, but then I might get a meltdown and I can't control

it. I bulldozed the nuclear plants. Now I use coal plants and put in plenty of parks, and I get the same index.” In Narodick’s opinion, these kids understand environmental issues in a way that her chamber of commerce doesn’t.

IF I were obliged to pick just one educational computer program for all ages, including adults, it would be Kid Pix, from Broderbund, in Novato, California. No introduction to this company would be complete without mention of Carmen Sandiego—a globe-trotting, time-trekking, monument-pilfering, and even planet-stealing villainess. The first of the eight Carmen programs, *Where in the World Is Carmen Sandiego?*, came out in 1985, and the rest is industry legend. According to Broderbund’s research, if you ask five American kids aged ten to fourteen to identify Carmen, four will do so correctly. If they’ve spent time with the software, they may be able to identify constellations in the night sky and tell you where the Taj Mahal is and why it was built. The Carmen craze is in no small part due to the eponymous television show, which the Public Broadcasting System negotiated with Broderbund in 1991 and which currently airs daily on 300 member stations.

That Kid Pix was a success had much to do with the introduction of the Apple Macintosh LC, the first relatively low-cost computer with a built-in microphone. The original version of Kid Pix was developed by Craig Hickman, an art professor and computer programmer who wanted a painting program for his three-year-old son. When Hickman finished the program, in 1989, he promoted it among users of online computer services. The program was so popular that he submitted it to Broderbund. Leslie Wilson, who became the product manager, says her colleagues thought it was “dynamite, really charming, but it needed more.” With the addition of sound—presto!—the program developed a personality. Now when the user selects a pencil tool, he hears the appropriate scratching and etching sounds. Paintbrushes and paint cans likewise stroke, drip, spray, blot, or slosh paint onto the “page.” Picture stamps thump decisively onto the image; letter stamps, when applied, announce themselves with a gallery of voices, in Spanish or in English. Erasers can rub or dissolve an error, or even obliterate the whole screen with



NordicTrack removes love handles... *fast!*

Why it takes your arms and legs to remove your love handles.

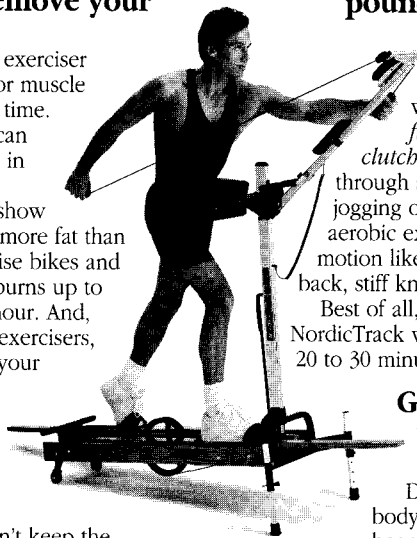
A NordicTrack® exerciser works all your major muscle groups at the same time. Which means you can melt away more fat in less time.

In fact, studies show NordicTrack burns more fat than stairsteppers, exercise bikes and treadmills. It even burns up to 1,100 calories per hour. And, unlike lower-body exercisers, NordicTrack tones your whole body (including your love handles).

Diets alone don't work.

Diets simply don't keep the weight off. But studies reveal that 7 in 10 people who bought a NordicTrack to control their weight lost an average of 17 pounds. And after an entire year, 80% of them still kept it off.

Our exclusive workout is the best way to lose weight (and waist) and keep it off.



The easiest way to melt pounds away.

NordicTrack makes it easy to get to the fat-burning stage of your workout. Our *patented flywheel and one-way clutch mechanism* glides you through a smoother workout than jogging or other high-impact aerobic exercises. Imagine a fluid motion like swimming. No sore back, stiff knees or aching feet. Best of all, the exclusive NordicTrack workout takes as little as 20 to 30 minutes, three times a week.

Get the shape you want with NordicTrack.

Discover why our body-firming workout has been the solution for over 2.5 million people.

Call 1-800-441-7891
Ext. 110D4

FREE Video and Brochure

- ☐ Please send me a **FREE brochure**
☐ Also a **FREE VHS videotape**

Name _____ Phone () _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: NordicTrack, Dept. 110D4
104 Peavey Road, Chaska, MN 55318-2355

©1994 NordicTrack, Inc., A CML Company • All rights reserved.

30-day in-home trial!
NordicTrack
A CML Company
We're Changing the Shape of America

"The War and Peace of the movement to end American involvement in Vietnam."

—Paul C. Warnke,
Asst. Secretary of Defense, Johnson Administration

"Painfully engrossing...A balanced,
absorbing, tragic narrative."—Kirkus Reviews



\$30.00 hardcover, illustrated, at bookstores
or order toll-free 1-800-822-6657.

THE WAR WITHIN
America's Battle over Vietnam
by **TOM WELLS**
Foreword by Todd Gitlin

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

AMAZING TALKING CLOCK

The time is now! This incredible Talking Clock from Townefield tells the time (in English or Spanish - your choice) with just a touch! Perfect for the visually impaired, children, students, or someone who has "everything", the Talking Clock can also be set to announce the time every hour on the hour. Or set the alarm, also with just a touch, to one of three different sounds (tone, cuckoo or rooster crow). The Talking Clock's attractive, colorful design and quartz digital display adds to its practicality. It also makes a great gift! We'll send it direct in your name to the recipient - just provide us with the name and address. The Talking Clock is guaranteed to satisfy or your money will be refunded. The Talking Clock operates on two AA batteries (not included), so it's also perfect for travel! **FREE GIFT!** Order now and receive our new European style designer roller ball pen, beautifully decorated. The very latest in fashion and design, you will treasure this lovely gift!

To order the amazing Talking Clock, complete the coupon below and mail it with payment to:



Townefield

565 N Birdneck Rd, Box 7656,
Virginia Beach VA 23458-7656

**Remember, Townefield offers an
unconditional money-back guarantee
on all products.**

☐ Yes, please send me _____ Talking Clocks

☐ English ☐ Spanish

☐ Please send _____ Talking Clocks as gifts
(list names and addresses on separate sheet)

One \$24.95, plus \$4.95 shipping & handling
Two, \$54.80 Three, \$79.20 Four, \$99.00

☐ Enclosed is my check for _____

Charge ☐ Mastercard ☐ Visa ☐ Discover

Account # _____

Signature _____

EXP. DATE _____

My name is _____

I live at _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Townefield

565 N Birdneck Rd, Box 7656,
Virginia Beach VA 23458-7656

a grand explosion. And narration can be recorded to be saved along with the picture.

After adding the sound features, Brod-
erbund tested the program. "We set up a
Kids Day, our first of many," Wilson re-
members. "We invited fifteen kids aged
four to fourteen. They were supposed to be
dropped off by their parents at ten o'clock
and picked up at noon, with a snack time
planned. The kids came in, the parents
stayed, and no one would leave. At about
one o'clock we finally got them out. That
many kids for three hours—we were just
floored." More than three million copies of
Kid Pix have been sold. It's a must.

NEW software will continue to be
introduced at a rapid clip. Parents
should choose selectively while keeping
abreast of the latest offerings. And your
hardware components must be kept in
mind. A speedy computer with good
sound capabilities, a color monitor, and a
mouse is rapidly becoming a prerequisite
for running most of the programs. Many
inexpensive Macintosh computers meet
these standards. IBM-compatibles are
trickier, because adding a mouse and a
microphone can be difficult. Before you
buy any programs, discuss your hardware
setup with a knowledgeable salesperson.
All the people answering 800-number
calls at the companies mentioned in this
article are well versed in hardware as well
as software issues. You may also find
help—or at least all the companies' 800
numbers—at a computer store such as
Egghead or CompUSA.

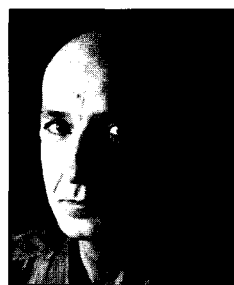
Here are a few enduring guidelines for
buying programs for children. First, as-
sess whether or not the interface is user-
friendly and intuitive. You and your chil-
dren should be able to use the program
easily, with a minimum of manual-read-
ing. Second, make sure that the software
company provides responsive technical
assistance and support, preferably on an
800 number. Third, learn as much as you
can about the content of the program be-
fore you buy it, to determine whether
your child will be interested in what it has
to offer. Fourth, be sure that the program
is designed with the user's age in mind.
Fifth, talk to other parents, teachers, and
kids, and find out what programs really
excite them. Finally, remember that this
isn't real life—it's merely a simulation.
We can always turn it off. ☺

New! from Knowledge Products! Audio Cassettes on RELIGION, SCRIPTURES & SPIRITUALITY...

Religions are rooted in culture and history. Far too often, religious dif-
ferences and tensions have been the source of corrosive hatred and terrible
wars. Yet in today's modern world, knowing the beliefs and commitments of
others is essential to cooperation, understanding, and good will.

In **Religion, Scriptures, & Spirituality**, you'll learn about religious
differences and also about their many similarities. There are hopeful possi-
bilities for cooperation between those within the Jewish and Christian heri-
tages (Western culture), Islam (the Middle East, India, Indonesia),
Buddhism (Southeast Asia, Korea, and Japan), Shinto (also Japan),
Confucianism and Taoism (China)...and other important religions and cultures. Don't miss this opportu-
nity to gain perspective on your religious convictions and questions -- to think freshly about life's vital con-
cerns in light of your own historical tradition and its comparison to the world's other great religions.

Every four weeks, you'll hear about one of the major traditions in the history of religion. Each presenta-
tion includes dozens of characterizations of great religious leaders, scriptures, theologians, religious histori-
ans, and others. Following **Religion, Scriptures & Spirituality**, you'll receive other fascinating topics
in the **Audio Classics Series**®, including **Moral Problems, Philosophy, Politics, Economics, War,**
Science and others.



**Narrated by Ben Kingsley, the
celebrated actor of Britain's
stage, best known in America for
his Oscar-winning performance
in Gandhi.**

**\$1.00
TRIAL OFFER**

**KNOWLEDGE®
PRODUCTS**
Customer Service Center
P. O. Box 305151
Nashville, TN 37230
1-800-876-4332

☐ **YES!** Send me, for \$1.00 plus \$2.00 shipping and handling, *Orthodox & Roman Catholic Christianity*, and begin
my no-risk subscription to the Audio Classics Series. I'll receive an album of two cassettes every 4 weeks for as long as I
wish, and you'll charge my credit card \$14.95 plus \$2 shipping and handling (\$6 outside of the U.S.) for each album. If
I'm ever displeased, I have the right to return the current album within 15 days for a refund. I may cancel at any
time without penalty. Sales Tax must be added for residents of TN and IL.
Charge my credit card on a convenient monthly basis: ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐ AMEX ☐ Discover

Account Number _____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

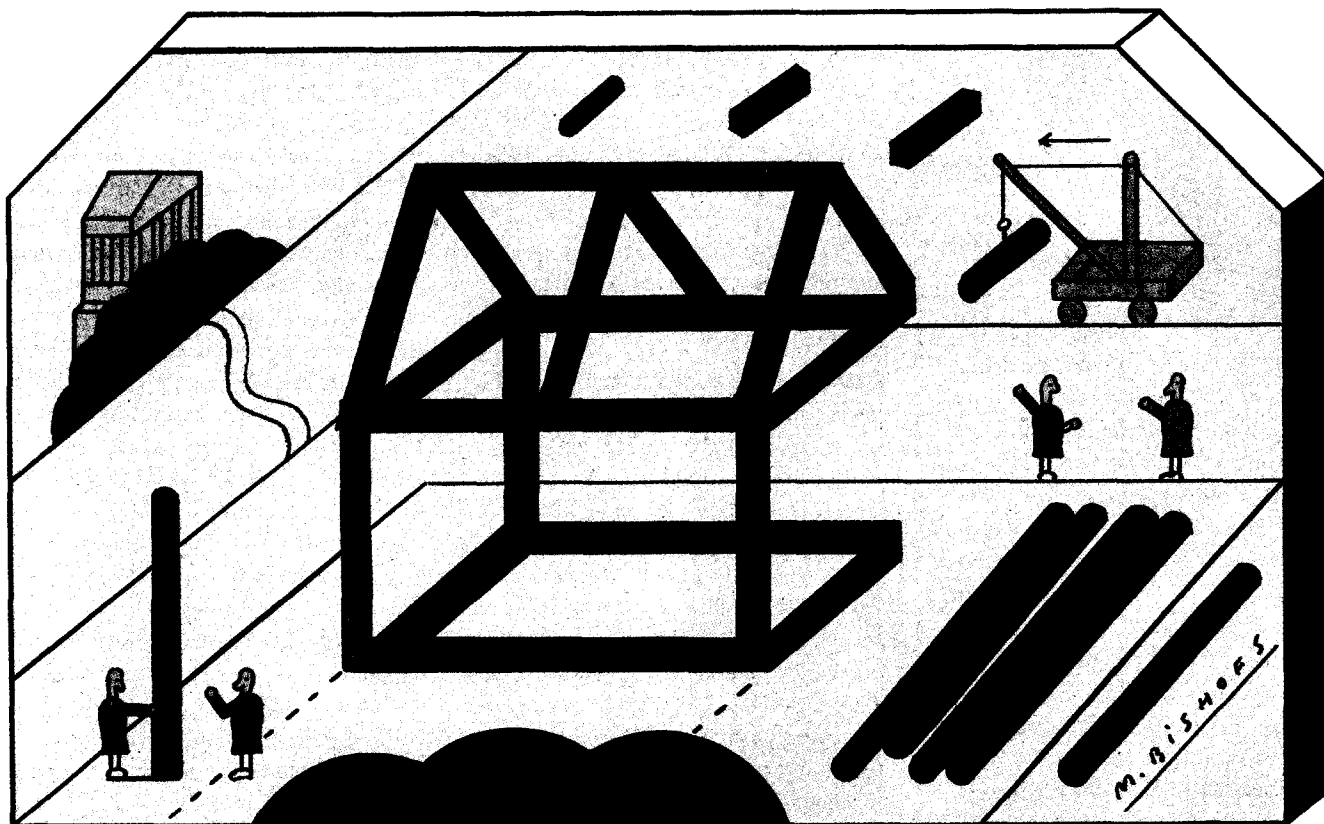
State _____

Zip _____

Daytime Phone (9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m. EST) (_____) _____

We will only call if there is a problem with your order.

Media Code #0207



Penumbras Formed by Emanations

How the right to privacy was invented

by Jeffrey Rosen

LIBERTY AND SEXUALITY:

The Right to Privacy and the Making of *Roe v. Wade*

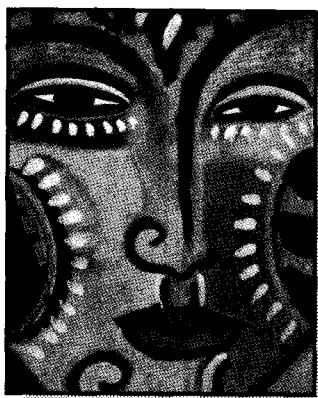
by David J. Garrow.
Macmillan, 981 pages,
\$28.00.

AT the end of his 981-page opus on the making of *Roe v. Wade*, David Garrow writes that he began the book—the “privacy book,” he called it—in the fall of 1987, just after the defeat of Robert Bork’s nomination to the Supreme Court. And at that anxious moment, when the future of *Roe* hung on a

single vote, the air was thick with celebrations of the right to privacy, from Democrats and Republicans alike. Bork was defeated in large part because of his unapologetic criticisms of *Roe* and of *Griswold v. Connecticut*, the 1965 contraceptives case that discovered a right to privacy in the “penumbras” of the Bill of Rights. Garrow’s decision to write a Whig history of the right to privacy is not hard to understand.

Seven years later, however, the legal and political landscape has changed dramatically. In nominating Ruth Bader Ginsburg to the Supreme Court, President Bill Clinton praised her “very provocative and impressive” criticisms of *Roe*. Ginsburg, whose pro-choice creden-

tials are beyond dispute, has argued repeatedly that *Roe* would have been less legally controversial if it had located the right to choose abortion in the Fourteenth Amendment’s guarantee of equal protection, rather than relying on the constitutionally elusive right to privacy. She has also suggested that “a decision of *Roe*’s muscularity” was “unnecessary” in light of the “marked trend in state legislatures toward liberalization of abortion statutes” in the early 1970s. Encouraged by Ginsburg’s criticisms of *Roe*—which reflect a growing consensus among liberal legal scholars—pro-choice and gay-rights advocates are increasingly abandoning their traditional focus on the privacy metaphor and are relying instead on the constitu-



YELLOW SILK: Journal of Erotic Arts. You know how sex without love can be hot in the beginning but soon grows kind of tired? It's the same with sexual arts and literatures. Try YELLOW SILK — where depth, gentleness and passion combine. To subscribe, circle #19 on the blow-in card. If card is missing, send \$28 (Atlantic Special) for four quarterly color issues to P.O. Box 6374, Albany CA 94706. Anthology: \$10 with subscription. For faster service, call 1-800-GREEN-71 for credit card orders only. (Accept no imitations!)

AUDIO BOOKS



- Unabridged Recordings
- Easy Rentals by Mail
- Over 500 Great Titles

"I go through a book a week using time otherwise wasted in taxis, shaving or walking"
—George F. Will

BLACKSTONE AUDIO BOOKS

Dept. A, P.O. Box 969, Ashland OR 97520

For a FREE Catalogue Call:

1-800-729-2665

EUROPE^{by}CAR

ONE ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK, NY 10020
212 581-3040

9000 SUNSET BLVD, LOS ANGELES, CA 90069
213 272-0424

SAVE ON • RENTAL • Tax-free LEASE • PURCHASE

Call us to order
any book in print!

Enjoy our friendly service and free shipping on US orders over \$20. We offer gift certificates and free gift wrapping.

BookBound 800-959-READ

Worldwide 516-324-1518 Fax 516-324-2846
PO Box 2376 East Hampton NY 11937

tional guarantee of equal protection under the law.

Publishing a paean to the constitutional right of privacy in 1994, in short, seems like an act of questionable timing, rather like publishing a laudatory biography of Erich Honecker just after the fall of the Berlin Wall. But a still more questionable aspect of David Garrow's impressively researched and useful book is the gap between its celebratory tone and the unsettling evidence it meticulously collects. After combing the files of the former justices William J. Brennan, William O. Douglas, and Thurgood Marshall, Garrow lays out, in more comprehensive detail than previous scholars have done, the Court's internal debates over *Roe* and *Griswold* and other important abortion- and gay-rights cases. The picture that emerges is generally unflattering to the justices, several of whom are revealed to have had only the most tenuous understanding of the positions they were endorsing. But after presenting the evidence Garrow is surprisingly contemptuous of *Roe*'s many liberal critics, treating the Court's long march from *Griswold* to *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the 1992 decision upholding the essence of *Roe*, as if it were constitutionally compelled rather than—as his own research confirms—the product of political and intellectual compromises.

"The worst casualties of the excessively negative but nonetheless pervasive consensus about *Roe*'s wrongheadedness," Garrow writes indignantly, "were astonishingly forgetful or ignorant journalists, not ambivalent law professors." He then assails the "sophomoric" editors of *The New Republic* for arguing in 1977 that *Roe* had "killed off the movement for abortion reform." Never mind that *The New Republic*'s original editorials about *Roe* were written by Alexander Bickel, of Yale Law School; or that Ruth Ginsburg, and many other pro-choice academics, came to the same conclusions as Bickel. The political evidence that Garrow collects fails to undermine Ginsburg's basic insight that there was, in the years leading up to *Roe*, a trend toward liberalization of abortion statutes. (Ginsburg's observation was a direct quotation from Justice Harry Blackmun's opinion in *Roe* itself).

The first successful efforts to reform American abortion laws took place in the spring of 1967, when legislatures in Col-

orado, North Carolina, and California adopted "reform" laws that allowed women with serious health problems to petition hospital committees for "therapeutic" abortions. By 1970 seven more states had passed reform statutes. As it became clear that reform statutes gave few pregnant women access to abortions (Dick Lamm, of Colorado, then a state representative, estimated that hospitals had turned his reform statute from a bill designed to help about five percent of women seeking abortions into "a 3 percent bill"), activists shifted their goal from reform to repeal. In 1970 four states passed repeal statutes and legalized abortion entirely; but in 1972, when the Supreme Court heard re-arguments in *Roe*, a Michigan repeal referendum was soundly defeated.

Garrow tries to use the Michigan defeat as evidence that by 1972 "antiabortion forces now had repeal advocates badly outgunned." Because *Roe* short-circuited the political debate, we will never know for sure. But Ginsburg never argued that without *Roe*, pro-choice forces would have been guaranteed a speedy political victory. She argued that *Roe* halted a general trend toward liberalization by removing all incentives for the pro-choice movement to make its case in the political arena. And this is a conclusion that Garrow's own research supports. "The scope of the decision and the decisiveness of the vote mean total victory," wrote Lee Gidding, the executive director of NARAL (then the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws). She added, "How many people do you know who have actually won, in total, the objective they set for themselves?" Senator Bob Packwood put the point more crisply in 1971: "Most of the legislators in the nation I have met and many members of Congress would prefer the Supreme Court to legalize abortion, thereby taking them off the hook and relieving them of the responsibility for decision-making."

Garrow's narrative progresses chronologically, weaving back and forth between the various legislative and judicial victories and defeats; but Garrow draws few conclusions about the relationship between the political battles and the legal battles. And this, ultimately, leaves an analytical vacuum at the heart of his book. It is not always easy to discern the connection between the early chapters, which provide a minutely detailed social history

of the fight for legalization of birth control in Connecticut from the 1930s to the 1960s, and the later chapters, with their revelations about the Court's deliberations. We learn, for example, that Estelle Griswold, the executive director of Connecticut Planned Parenthood, "caught tuberculosis, spent some time in Nice, became engaged to a playwright, and ended up back in another office job in Paris." But these obscure biographical details, and many others about "Jane Roe"; Roe's lawyer, Sarah Weddington; and a host of peripheral characters, are not sufficiently vivid to bring the characters to life. Nor do they cast any direct light on the judicial decisions that are the real focus of Garrow's book.

In a charming grace note Garrow mentions that Katharine Hepburn's mother was one of the founders of the Connecticut Birth Control League in the 1920s, and that P. T. Barnum was one of the sponsors of Connecticut's 1879 anti-contraceptive law. But Garrow then turns this into a heavy-handed metaphor, ending five of his nine chapters with variations on the following trope: "Still ahead, how-

ever, lay the far more momentous step that would finally eviscerate the ghost of P. T. Barnum and truly fulfill the legacy of Kit Hepburn." Furthermore, "the legacy of Kit Hepburn" was apparently a legacy of political action (at a memorable 1929 hearing, Hepburn lobbied the Connecticut legislature to repeal the 1879 law), whereas all the events Garrow celebrates for exorcizing "the ghost of P. T. Barnum" are judicial decisions.

IN the end, the sheer mass of useful details that Garrow has collected makes it possible to overlook his rather tendentious editorializing and his reluctance to distinguish between courts and legislatures. Garrow's account of the Court's creation of the right to privacy in *Griswold* is particularly fascinating. Snickering about his colleague's inability to find a constitutional home for the right to privacy, for example, Justice Byron White sent Justice William Douglas a teasing note suggesting several possibilities: an unreasonable-search-and-seizure holding, "Because the Conn. law would authorize a search for the intra-uterine

coil"; or a cruel-and-unusual-punishment holding, "since there is an obvious addiction to sex involved & it is cruel & unusual punishment to deprive one of it or to permit it only at the cost of having children. A grizzly [sic] choice."

But Garrow has also found a smoking gun: the real inventor of the right to privacy appears to have been Paul Posner, a law clerk for Justice William Brennan. Douglas, true to form, had produced a lazy first draft in *Griswold*, deriving the right to use contraceptives from the First Amendment right to freedom to assemble, despite Justice Hugo Black's objection that "the right of husband and wife to assemble in bed is a new right of assembly to me." Posner drafted a letter, which Brennan sent to Douglas, suggesting a different approach: instead of focusing on the First Amendment, why not say that the Connecticut statutes violated the right to privacy "created out of the Fourth Amendment and the Fifth, together with the Third. . . . Taken together, those amendments indicate a fundamental concern with the sanctity of the home and the right of the individual to be let alone."

If the answer isn't health, wealth, and wisdom, why do we live like it is?

Part echo of the sixties, part wake-up call for the nineties, The Search for Meaning bravely confronts the meaningless underside of American life. — James P. Wind, Ph.D., Lilly Endowment

Join an economist, a pastor, and a psychiatrist in a serious examination of the why of human existence. This mind-expanding, soul-stretching work guides you on perhaps the most important quest you will ever face — the need for life to have enduring meaning. This book does *not* offer neat, ready-made answers. It is a challenge to come to grips with what it is to be a human being who lives, loves, works, plays, suffers, and dies. You will discover practical tools and processes for making your search a successful adventure.

0-687-02586-9, hardcover, \$18.95

Stimulating and insightful . . . dares to explore elusive issues — and to explore them in the context of the current American political climate. — Irvin D. Yalom, author of *Love's Executioner* and *When Nietzsche Wept*

Call or visit your local bookstore. Order toll free:

1-800-672-1789. Fax: 1-800-445-8189. Mail orders to 201 Eighth Ave. South, P.O. Box 801, Nashville, TN 37202-0801.

ATL-515-4

The SEARCH for MEANING

Thomas H. Naylor
William H. Willimon

A strong sense of meaning is what motivates us to get out of bed each morning and confront yet another day and all its uncertainty . . . to make life more of an adventure than a bore.



Abingdon Press

EXPERIENCING THE POWER OF THE MIND

"Mind is the creator of everything," explained Paramahansa Yogananda, the founder of Self-Realization Fellowship. "If you cling to a certain thought with dynamic will power, it finally assumes a tangible outward form. When you are able to employ your will always for constructive purposes, you become the controller of your destiny."

For more than fifty years, Self-Realization Fellowship has been teaching scientific methods of meditation and life-energy control that enable you to harness this power of the mind. Through the experience of meditation you can discover not only the keys to the mind, but the meaning of life itself.

SEND FOR FREE BOOKLET

Self-Realization Fellowship

3880 San Rafael Ave., Dept. 4ATF
Los Angeles, California 90065

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

America's biggest selection of **Bargain Books**

FREE CATALOG offers thousands of publishers' overstocks, remainders, imports and reprints. **SAVE UP TO 80%** on yesterday's best sellers to titles you never knew existed. Over 40 subject areas: Literature, Fiction, Politics, Travel, Biography, History, Nature and more, starting as low as \$1.95. Write:

HAMILTON

Box 15-409, Falls Village, CT 06031

HIMALAYA

EVEREST • ANNAPURNA • MANASLU • MUSTANG
TIBET • LADAKH • LAHUL • SPIITI

WALK IN SUMMIT GROUPS TO UNMATCHED PLACES
GREEN IN THE WORLD'S HIGHEST MOUNTAINS. CALL
SNOW TON EXPEDITIONS FOR A FREE CATALOG.

801-355-6555

EXOTIC BOUQUETS

Farm-fresh bouquets of protea. Very colorful. Great for all occasions. Three sizes: \$30, \$40, \$50 (U.S. shipping included). Each is sure to please. Delivered Wed.-Fri. from August to May. A rare & unusual gift, longest lasting of cut flowers. Send shipping address, check & message to:

CONNELLY FRUITS & FLOWERS
300 W. Mountain Drive, Santa Barbara, CA 93103

Douglas took Posner's and Brennan's suggestions to heart, circulating a significantly revised draft whose reference to "penumbras" and "emanations" from the Bill of Rights caused "giggles" from clerks in other chambers.

Meanwhile, John Hart Ely, a clerk for Chief Justice Earl Warren, objected that Douglas's opinion "incorporates an approach to the Constitution so dangerous that you should not join it." The Constitution, Ely observed, "says nothing about privacy," and he recommended that the law be struck down as a violation of equal protection, because "it is only against the clinics that the law is enforced." On Ely's recommendation, Warren originally joined the concurrence of Byron White, which struck down the Connecticut law as irrational, but said nothing about the right to privacy. At the last minute, however, Warren switched his vote and joined the concurrence of Arthur Goldberg, which emphasized the relevance of the Ninth Amendment, and which expressly indicated that the justices for whom it spoke also joined Douglas. This created a five-vote majority for Douglas's questionable handiwork, without the Chief Justice's having to endorse it directly.

Garrow celebrates the outcome in *Griswold* ("Biologically, Estelle was undeniably childless, but legally and politically *Griswold* would have many children"), but one has the impression, after reading his account of the shifting alliances in the case, that John Hart Ely was correct and the equal-protection clause would have been a much more convincing basis for deciding *Griswold* than the ill-defined right to privacy. Even more significant, Estelle Griswold's lawyer, Tom Emerson, explicitly told Justice Hugo Black at the oral argument that the right to privacy he sought "would *not* cover the abortion laws or the sterilization laws, your honor. Those—that conduct does not occur in the privacy of the home." Several months after the case came down, however, Emerson had changed his tune. "It is conceivable," he wrote, "that sometime in the future . . . all sexual activities of two consenting adults will be brought within the right of privacy [and] the way would be open for an attack upon significant aspects of the abortion laws."

The court, too, slowly expanded the right to privacy from a narrow protection of the marital bedroom to a broad guaran-

tee of sexual liberty, without appearing to think very rigorously about what it was doing. In the crucial intermediate case, *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, William Brennan held that banning the distribution of contraceptives to unmarried people could not be defended as a rational means of discouraging nonmarital sex. The Court was *not* holding, Brennan emphasized, that the law "impinges upon fundamental freedoms under *Griswold*." But he then sneaked in a loaded dictum: "If the right of privacy means anything, it is the right of the *individual*, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child." Richard Posner, now the nation's most distinguished appellate judge, objected that *Eisenstadt* "unmasks *Griswold* as based on the idea of sexual liberty rather than privacy."

Meanwhile, the first justice explicitly to extend the right to privacy from contraception to abortion was Tom Clark, who, after retiring from the Court, wrote an influential 1969 article in the *Loyola University Law Review* arguing that "abortion falls within that sensitive area of privacy—the marital relation." Clark was viewed by many of the clerks as a "wonderful politician" but "by far the weakest intellect on the Court."

AND finally there is *Roe* itself. After Garrow's long windup, one is struck by what a peripheral role the right to privacy plays in Justice Blackmun's opinion, and in the discussions leading up to it. Blackmun himself comes across as a parochial man out of his depth, oddly obsessed, because of his service as counsel to the Mayo Clinic, with the interests of professional physicians. His first draft in *Roe*, which Garrow charitably calls "an almost wholly unremarkable document," dodged the constitutional issues entirely and concluded that the Texas law was "insufficiently informative to the physician to whom it purports to afford a measure of professional protection." Clerks called Blackmun's draft "awful."

When Blackmun circulated his second draft, he apologized for its "rambling character," and confessed, "You will observe that I have concluded that the end of the first trimester is critical. This is arbitrary, but perhaps any other selected

ARTS & LEISURE

To receive free information about all of the Arts & Leisure items listed below, please check 901 on the attached reply card.

1. **The Atlantic Monthly Puzzler Book.** A collection of 100 cryptic crosswords by Cox and Rathvon, as seen in the pages of *The Atlantic Monthly*.
2. **Berlitz Publishing Company.** From travel guides to language learning tapes, CDs, and books, Berlitz covers your world. Send for more information.
3. **Blackstone Audio Books.** More than 600 unabridged recordings of great books. For a free catalogue, circle this number on the attached reply card.
4. **BookBound.** From best sellers to classics, we ship any book in print fast! Free shipping on orders over \$20.
5. **Books on Tape, Inc.** Send for a free color brochure describing the world's largest selection of unabridged audio books, more than 2,500 titles.
6. **Edward R. Hamilton, Bookseller.** Bargain books—save up to 80% on overstocks, remainders. Our free catalogue offers some 8,000 titles.
7. **Graphics Press** publishes *Envisioning Information* (winner of nine book awards) and *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information*.
8. **H&B Recordings Direct.** Our classical and jazz CD & video catalogues offer new releases and key discounts on domestic and imported labels, and lively reviews.

FINANCIAL SERVICES

To receive free information about all of the Financial Services listed below, please check 902 on the attached reply card.

9. **Franklin/Templeton Group.** To receive additional information on the Franklin tax-free fund, please circle this number on the attached reply card.
10. **G.T. Global Mutual Funds.** Free prospectus describes charges, expenses, and risks associated with global investing, including political and currency risks.
11. **INVESCO Industrial Income Fund.** A no-load equity fund seeking income along with capital growth. Send for more information today.
12. **John Nuveen and Company, Inc.** To learn more about our tax-free investments circle the number on the card provided.

LUXURY ITEMS

To receive free information about all of the Luxury Items listed below, please check 903 on the attached reply card.

13. **The Coffee Connection.** Searching out the world's highest quality coffees is our passion. We ship within 24 hours of roasting. Send for our catalogue and gift certificate.
14. **Don Francisco Coffee Traders.** Our coffee lovers' catalogue offers 70 varieties of coffee from the world's best coffee-growing regions, and \$5 off your first purchase.
15. **The Glenlivet.** We offer information for single malt scotch connoisseurs on The Glenlivet, "The Father of All Scotch."
16. **Godiva Liqueur.** Send for a booklet of sinfully delicious drink creations and dessert recipes made with the Godiva of Liqueurs.
17. **Landmark Coffee.** Landmark Coffee Beans offers all your favorite fine-quality

ADVERTISEMENT

Shop The Atlantic Monthly MARKETPLACE

*We are pleased to present
this page as a free information service
to our readers.*

**Simply circle the corresponding number(s) on the attached
courtesy reply card, and drop it in the mail.
You will receive free product information directly from
the companies listed here.**

coffees at lower prices than most retail shops and other mail-order companies.

18. **Rolux.** For more information on our fine selection of Rolex watches, return the attached card for a free brochure.

19. **Rowena's Fine Cakes.** Free cake! Rowena's Almond Tea Loaf free with your first order. Send for our catalogue of the finest cakes plus a free Tea Loaf certificate.

20. **Waterford Crystal.** Color catalogue illustrates why Waterford is the world's most brilliant crystal. Brochure features a radiant selection of stemware patterns and giftware.

POTPOURRI

To receive free information about all of the products and services listed below, please check 904 on the attached reply card.

21. **American College of Surgeons** offers a series of free brochures addressing common surgical issues including surgeons' qualifications, second surgical opinions, and informed consent.

22. **Byron & Poole.** The finest quality cotton dress shirts, ties, and boxer shorts in full range of sizes and fabrics.

23. **Contact Lens Replacement Service.** Save 25% to 75% on name-brand contact lens refills. Free disposables with purchase of disposable refills.

24. **Deva Lifewear.** Simple style and comfort in Deva's natural-fiber clothing catalogue. Handcrafted with respect for the environment. Shirts, blouses, pants, jackets, dresses, and more.

25. **Endless Pools.** Swim at home against a smooth current you control in a pool only 8' x 15'. Send for more information.

26. **Himal.** A Himalayan magazine covering cultural, environmental, and development issues. An engaging and provocative resource for the seasoned traveler as well as the dedicated professional.

27. **Inclinor Company of America.** Enjoy the practical luxury of "Eleveite,"

the custom-built residential elevator that's ideal for those who shouldn't climb stairs.

28. **Old Friends Information Services** finds the friends you've lost touch with. School friends, first loves, service buddies.

29. **ProForm Fitness Products.** The crosswalk dual motion crosstrainer combines maximum aerobic benefit with intense muscle toning to provide a total upper and lower body workout.

30. **Replacements, Ltd.** is the world's largest supplier of discontinued china, crystal, and flatware—more than 1.5 million pieces in 40,000 patterns.

31. **Self-Realization Fellowship** offers a program of self-development based on scientific methods of meditation and balanced living. Our free booklet, *Undreamed of Possibilities*, provides introductory information.

32. **Trimax.** Today's premier home fitness machine for total muscular and cardiovascular conditioning in half the time. Free video and brochure.

33. **University of Virginia Travel/Study Programs.** Summer programs for adults in Charlottesville, Virginia, and Oxford, England. Study Thomas Jefferson and other scholarly figures and topics.

TRAVEL & RESORTS

To receive free information about all of the Travel & Resort products and services listed below, please check 905 on the attached reply card.

34. **Aruba Tourism Authority.** Visit the tropical island where it hardly ever rains and find the beaches, dining, shopping, and relaxation you've been dreaming of.

35. **Bermuda.** Pink-sand beaches, pastel towns, glorious golf, old-world charm—less than two hours from the East Coast.

36. **British Tourist Authority/British Airways.** Send for free full-color brochures: British Airways Holidays "Value Plus" brochure and the British Tourist

Authority's "Britain" guide to England, Scotland, and Wales.

37. **Cotton Bay Club, Eleuthera.** The quintessential island getaway: 450 acres, luxurious 77-room retreat, mile-long private beach, championship golf course, tennis center, and all the amenities of a four-star resort.

38. **Cunard Vistafjord Europe.** Join five-star plus Vistafjord from April through November as she sails throughout Europe. Cruises are 6 to 21 days.

39. **El Conquistador Resort & Country Club.** El Conquistador is a medley of four unique and charming environments designed to meet your individual needs.

40. **European Travel Commission.** Planning your trip to Europe is a full-color guide to 25 countries, covering important attractions, events, entertainment, transportation, food and drink.

41. **German National Tourist Office.** Visit lovely Germany. The pleasure will be yours—and ours. Send for travel tips and information on 1994 German holidays.

42. **Government of India Tourist Office.** An extraordinary travel adventure at a truly outstanding value. Discover the endless possibilities of this exotic land.

43. **Heritage of Ireland.** Over 250 vacation rental properties in the Republic of Ireland—from cottages to castles.

44. **H2Outfitters** offers quality sea kayaking and whitewater kayaking instruction and trips for beginners and advanced paddlers along the Maine coast and at any of our outposts in Long Island, Cape Cod, or CT.

45. **Hotel Christopher, St. Barts.** Discover the tropical beauty that is St. Barts while enjoying the refined comforts of the island's newest jewel.

46. **Ireland Vacations '94** is a colorful new brochure that offers a choice of great value airfares, coach tours, and self-drive vacations to Ireland. Send for complete information on your Ireland vacation this year.

47. **Quark Expeditions.** Northeast Passage: The fabled route by icebreaker this summer over North Coast of Siberia, from Europe to Asia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. \$9,950–\$15,950 with Quark.

48. **Rail Europe.** Travel Europe by train and car with our EurailDrive program, starting at \$299. Individual country Rail 'n Drive passes start at \$135. Eurailpasses and national train passes also available.

49. **South African Airways—Cost-Cutter Tours.** Once in a lifetime, unforgettable tours to Southern Africa beginning at \$2,699 including airfare. Respond now for our 28-page brochure.

50. **Sun Line Cruises.** Sun Line Cruises and Tours to the Greek Islands, Turkey, Egypt, Israel, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean. Cruises from 3 to 21 days. Air/Land/Sea programs available.

51. **United States Virgin Islands.** St. Croix, St. John, St. Thomas—the American paradise. The year-round destination with less than a 5°F difference in temperature from winter to summer.

52. **Vacanze in Italia.** More than 400 rental properties in the most beautiful areas of Italy, from apartments in Rome to castles in Tuscany. Send for more information.

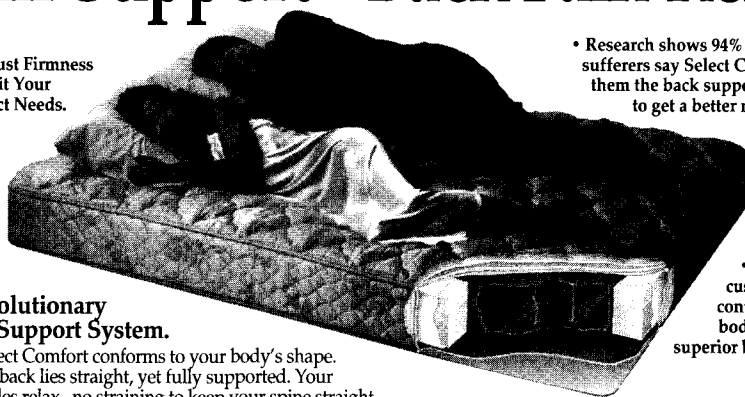
53. **VCC Four Seasons Cycling.** Inn-to-inn bicycle vacations. First-class accommodations and cuisine. Supported by van and experienced, personable leaders. All ability levels welcomed.

IF THE RESPONSE CARD IS MISSING, PLEASE SEND YOUR
REQUEST TO: THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY MARKETPLACE,
PO BOX 900124, LOS ANGELES, CA 90090-0124

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Air Support = Back Pain Relief

- Adjust Firmness to Fit Your Exact Needs.



- Research shows 94% of back pain sufferers say Select Comfort gives them the back support they need to get a better night's sleep.

Revolutionary Air Support System.

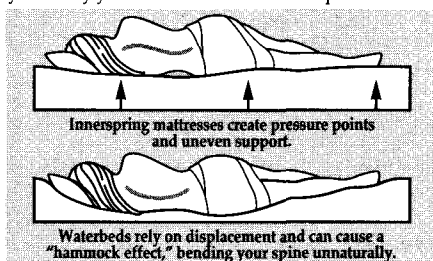
Select Comfort conforms to your body's shape. Your back lies straight, yet fully supported. Your muscles relax...no straining to keep your spine straight.

Variable Firmness = Great Sleep.

You control the firmness of your bed—simply by pushing a button. Change the firmness as often as you like. Make your mattress hard as a board, or soft as a feather bed. The choice is yours.

Adjust Your Side Separately.

Inside the mattress are two air chambers. You can adjust your own side independently. With Select Comfort, you satisfy your own needs without compromise.



- Unique air-cushion design contours to your body, providing superior back support and comfort.

Try Risk-Free for 90 Nights.

Sleep on a Select Comfort for 90 nights. If you are not completely satisfied, return it for a full refund.

Five Year Full/15 Year Limited Warranty.

Discover why 96% of Select Comfort users recommend it to family and friends.

"I am a doctor and often come home exhausted. This mattress is the most comfortable I've tried."

Dr. Connie Horn, M.D., Clarksville, OH

Call now for your

FREE VIDEO

and FREE Brochure

1-800-831-1211

Select Comfort Corp.

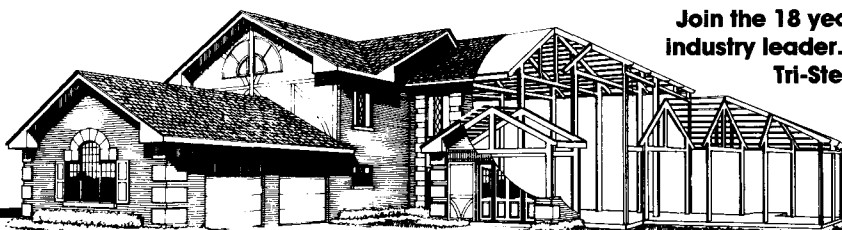
9301 75th Ave. N.

Minneapolis, MN 55428-1003

© Select Comfort Corp. 1993

Dept. 2605

Join the 18 year
industry leader...
Tri-Steel



Start your own Steel Framed Home Business!

Tri-Steel's Homes have features not available with ordinary wood housing.

- ◆ Unmatched Protection from High Winds, Fire, Termites and Earthquakes
- ◆ Energy Efficient 9" Thick (R-30) Insulation for BIG Energy Savings
- ◆ Environmentally-friendly Material (over 68% of all Steel is Recycled)
- ◆ 100 Models + Custom Designs ◆ Clearspan Interiors ◆ + MUCH More

Distributors Wanted

Tri-Steel has helped people all over the world to develop their own business.

- ◆ Low, Refundable Investment
- ◆ Simple Bolt-together Construction
- ◆ Hands-On Construction Training
- ◆ No Franchise Fees
- ◆ Unmatched Distributor Support
- ◆ No Experience Necessary
- ◆ Commercial & Small Buildings

Call to Order
**\$19.95 VIDEO or
FREE Info Packet**

CALL TOLL FREE TODAY
1-800-TRI-STEEL
(817) 497-7070 Fax: (817) 497-7497
5400 S. Stemmons Fwy. Denton, TX 76205

**Tri-Steel
Structures, Inc.**

© 1994, All Rights Reserved

point, such as quickening or viability, is equally arbitrary." William Brennan persuaded Blackmun to move the point beyond which abortions could be proscribed from the end of the first trimester (around twelve weeks) to a point closer to fetal viability. But Blackmun appeared not to understand his own concession; he drafted a bizarre eight-page press release to accompany the public release of *Roe*: "I fear what the headlines may be, but it should be stressed that the Court does not today hold that the Constitution compels abortion on demand. . . . For the first trimester of pregnancy [*Roe* puts] the abortion decision and the responsibility for it upon the attending physicians." Brennan talked Blackmun out of issuing the press release. But Blackmun's conception of *Roe* as a guarantee of professional autonomy for licensed physicians makes the privacy metaphor all the more implausible. For his part, Blackmun himself seemed ill at ease with the decision: two days after *Roe* was handed down, he told the Cedar Rapids Chamber of Commerce, "I really resent that it [abortion] had to come before the Court, because it is a medical and moral problem" more than a legal one.

With admirable evenhandedness, Garrow acknowledges the almost uniformly negative reaction to *Roe* among liberal, pro-choice academics, from Guido Calabresi to Laurence Tribe. ("It seems to be generally agreed that as a matter of simple craft, Justice Blackmun's opinion for the Court was dreadful," Mark Tushnet wrote ten years after the decision.) But Garrow then goes into attack mode, dismissing all of *Roe*'s critics, and each of the Rehnquist Court's creeping encroachments on *Roe*, as if they were scurrilous assaults on some kind of revealed truth. Certainly it is easy to criticize the conservative justices for being no more principled than their liberal opponents. (In *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, for example, Chief Justice Rehnquist attempted to embrace *Griswold* while rejecting *Roe*; but he did not distinguish the two cases convincingly.) And Ginsburg's argument that *Roe* would have been less politically controversial if it had relied on the equal protection clause rather than the right to privacy is clearly open to question. But the partisan tone of Garrow's final chapter is hard to reconcile with the facts that Garrow himself has presented.

Liberals who are interested in protecting the right to choose at all costs may be inspired by Garrow's Manichaean vision, which praises every victory for abortion rights, and deplores every defeat, without bothering about the difference between courts and legislatures. But principled liberals may be frustrated by his refusal to distinguish between convincing legal arguments and less convincing ones, and his decision to coat his impressive scholarship with a thin veneer of partisanship. Twenty years after *Roe*, and thirty years after *Griswold*, few law professors find the opinions of Justices Douglas and Blackmun legally rigorous; and despite Garrow's laudatory tone, the dramatic evidence he has collected is not likely to enhance the reputation of *Roe*, *Griswold*, or the right to privacy. ☼

A Troubled Social Science

by Nathan Glazer

THE DECOMPOSITION OF SOCIOLOGY

by Irving Louis Horowitz.
Oxford University Press,
282 pages, \$35.00.

ANYONE could be forgiven for thinking that there must be at least three and possibly more Irving Louis Horowitzes. There is the literary heir of C. Wright Mills—the editor of his essays and of a book of essays in honor of him, and the author of a biography of Mills. There is the prolific writer on Latin America, whose books have covered Cuban communism, Brazil, Latin American radicalism, and a variety of other subjects. There is the founding publisher and editor of the social-science journal *Transaction*, now *Society*, and of the social-science publishing house Transaction Publishers. There is the author and editor of many books on the state of the social sciences and on American politics and society. There is the author of a memoir of his

Harlem childhood, *Daydreams and Nightmares*, and the Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers University.

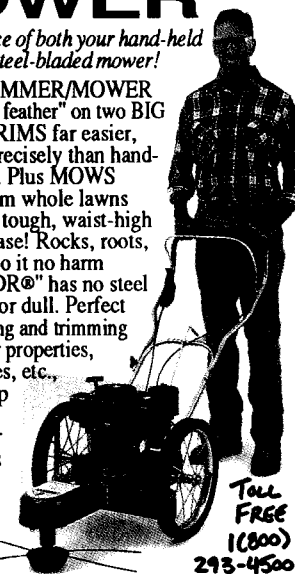
I review some of a remarkable range of accomplishments not only to suggest a protean character, which Irving Louis Horowitz is, but also because one of the chief questions raised by his current book is whether there is not a contradiction between some of the earlier Irving Louis Horowitzes—the disciple of C. Wright Mills, the radical analyst of the problems of Latin America—and the one who looks with dismay at present trends in American sociology. The Irving Louis Horowitz of the past would have been outraged at the power of conservative complacency in postwar American sociology, resulting in the discipline's insufficient attention to inequality in America and the poverty of the developing world, and its bland ignoring both of the reality and of the saving possibilities of social conflict here and in the Third World. Indeed, he might well have seen sociology as serving a "power elite," to borrow the title of C. Wright Mills's most famous book. The Irving Louis Horowitz of today is worried about very different things, among them the depreciation of the achievements of the Western world, the denigration of pragmatic possibilities for change and improvement, and the enthusiasm for self-labeled socialist and revolutionary regimes (few as they are today) as against democratic and free-market societies.

Horowitz could defend himself against a charge of inconsistency, though I would think that inconsistency is allowable in an intellectual career lasting forty years. And inconsistency can be defended as a sensible adaptation of one's views to changing conditions. A lot, after all, has happened since the 1950s and the 1960s. But I believe Horowitz would take a different tack against such charges, or the even more hurtful charge that he has gone from being an advocate of the cause of the poor and the downtrodden to being a conservative defender of the status quo. His argument would be that he is still defending the same kind of sociology he advocated thirty years ago. He writes, "This is not a plea for a special kind of sociology, one that offers placebos in place of criticism. . . . Rather, the argument is that sociology . . . has become . . . enmeshed in the poli-

Revolutionary "2-in-1" TRIMMER/MOWER

Takes the place of both your hand-held trimmer and steel-bladed mower!

The DR® TRIMMER/MOWER rolls "light as a feather" on two BIG WHEELS! TRIMS far easier, better, more precisely than hand-held trimmers. Plus MOWS everything from whole lawns (even wet!) to tough, waist-high growth with ease! Rocks, roots, stumps, etc., do it no harm because the "DR®" has no steel blade to bend or dull. Perfect for ALL mowing and trimming around smaller properties, vacation homes, etc., or for finish-up mowing and trimming after riding mowers on larger parcels. A delight for anyone to use!



Toll FREE
1(800)
293-4500

Please mail this coupon today for FREE DETAILS about the Revolutionary DR® TRIMMER/MOWER, including prices of Manual, Electric Starting and All-Electric Models, "Off-Season" Savings now in effect, and 30-Day Risk-Free Trial. There is no obligation.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ ZIP _____
To: COUNTRY HOME PRODUCTS®, Dept. 48404
Ferry Road, Box 89, Charlotte, VT 05445

© 1994 CHP, Inc.

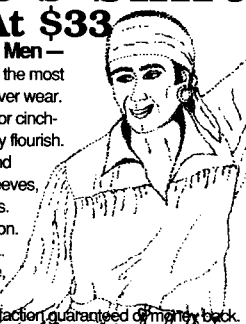
Pirate's Shirt A Steal At \$33

— For Women and Men —

Feel free as a brigand in the most comfortable shirt you'll ever wear. Tuck it in or leave it out, or cinch-and-blouse it for a billowy flourish. Tahiti Cloth cotton is hand crafted with gathered sleeves, cuffs, yoke, and long tails. Machine wash/dry, no iron. Unisex sizes S, M, L, XL. White, Sand, Royal Blue, Boysenberry or Black.

FREE SHIPPING. Satisfaction guaranteed or money back.
1-800-222-8024 VISA/MC Discover Safe free now.

Deva Lifewear A Cottage Industry
Box ATD4, 110 1st Ave., West, Westhope, ND 58793
Unique 40-page catalogue \$1—Free with order.



\$5 OFF GOURMET COFFEE

CALL FOR YOUR Don Francisco Coffee Traders catalog and get \$5 off your first order. Choose from over 60 varieties of coffees from the world's richest coffee growing regions—plus gifts and accessories. All specially selected



by Don Francisco's, a family company born on their own coffee plantation.

1(800)697-5282

DON FRANCISCO COFFEE TRADERS AT0494

NOW BOOKING FOR MAY TO NOVEMBER DEPARTURES

From the grandeur and magic of the 1000 Islands through the impressive International Seaway Locks to romantic Quebec City and to the pageantry of Canada's Capital

CRUISE CALM INLAND WATERS

Board our modern grand replica steamboat for 4 & 5 night adventures on tranquil history-laden waters steeped in breathtaking scenery



Visit your travel professional or contact
ST. LAWRENCE CRUISE LINES INC.
253 Ontario St. Kingston Ontario Canada K7L 2Z4
DIAL-A-BROCHURE

1-800-267-7868

Explore Acadia by Sea Kayak

Spring into spring with H2OUTFITTERS get-a-way weekends to Bar Harbor, Maine. Pool and on the water sessions in and around Acadia National Park. Call to make reservations and obtain our schedule of other year-round programs.



H2OUTFITTERS

P.O. Box 72, Orr's Island, ME 04066
207 - 833 - 5257 / 800 - 20KAYAK

BOOKS ON TAPE

World's Largest Selection of Audio Books



- Best Sellers on Cassette
- Full-length Readings
- Call for Free Brochure

(800) 626-3333

Box 7900-AT, Newport Beach, CA 92658

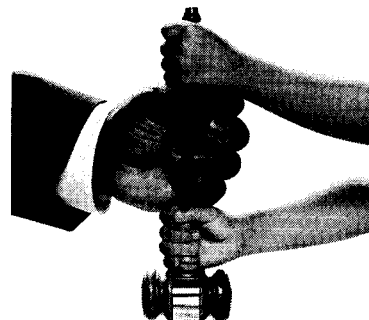
Reg. U.S. Pat. & T.M. Off.

tics of advocacy and the ideology of self-righteousness. . . ."

The self-righteousness in question is what we commonly have in mind today when we say "politically correct." Hardly a discipline in the liberal academy is as politically correct as sociology, though anthropology and social psychology are close rivals. Although Horowitz is now a severe critic of the trends in sociology that view themselves as being on the left, he would insist that there is a substantial continuity between the Horowitz of the past and that of the present. The continuity is provided by an unchanging idea of what sociology should be and do: it should be both a humanistic and a scientific discipline, based on the search for objective truth in the belief that such truth can serve mankind, but recognizing that in sociology truth cannot have the character it has in the physical and biological sciences. Horowitz sees himself the way Mills saw himself, as holding the middle ground "between unconcerned quantitativists and overly concerned qualitativists," but it is a middle ground that has been squeezed from both sides.

This is a fair position. There is a good deal of work in sociology in which the legitimate effort to quantify, to put numbers to categories and phenomena, is pursued to an extent that seems to add little to what cruder numbers, or census figures, can do. And sociology indulges in a good deal of impenetrable language, once more commonly found in efforts to make the discipline look like a science, now more commonly serving a political agenda—though one has to be an initiate to realize that some political end is being advocated. This book would have been better had there been more examples both of the positions it decries and of the middle ground it advocates. A sociologist can generally divine what Horowitz means (though one is sometimes not sure), but readers outside the discipline, I am afraid, will often be quite at a loss. Matters are not helped by poor proofreading and fact checking. Just who is the "Jean-Bernard-Léon Foucault" who "showed us how historically the definition of madness was used to broaden the range of what is considered sanity or normality"? Clearly Michel Foucault is intended, here mixed up with a very different French intellectual.

Go to bat for a child who really needs you.

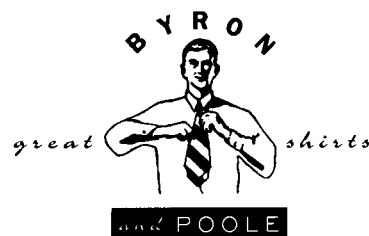


All children deserve a safe, permanent home. Help them get there. Speak up for an abused and neglected child in court. Become a CASA Volunteer.

For information on how to become a Court Appointed Special Advocate, call: 1.800.628.3233 or write: National CASA • 2722 Eastlake Avenue East • Suite 220 • Department PP • Seattle, Washington • 98102



A Public Service Message



We Make Great Shirts.

AND WE SELL THEM AT AMAZING PRICES.

Call For Our Free Cotton Dress Shirt Catalog with FABRIC SWATCHES.

1-800-54-BYRON

COTTAGES, FARMHOUSES & CASTLES TO RENT IN IRELAND

For an illustrated catalog of 250 rental properties, send \$3



HERITAGE OF IRELAND

22 Railroad St., Great Barrington, MA 01230
Telephone (413)528-6220

PUZZLER CONTEST

Send your solved Puzzler "Secret Message" (found on page 107) to: *The Atlantic Monthly*, April Puzzler Contest, 745 Boylston Street, Boston, MA 02116. *The Atlantic* will randomly draw three names from among all correct entries received by April 13. The winners' names will be published in the June issue. In addition, each of the winners will receive a complimentary one-year subscription to *Tough Cryptics*, a bimonthly cryptics publication.

Rules: Only one entry per person allowed. No purchase necessary. No entries can be returned. All decisions are final. *The Atlantic* is not responsible for late or lost mail. Contest open to residents of the U.S. and Canada, 18 years or older, except employees of *The Atlantic* and their immediate families. Winners will be notified by mail. Contest void where prohibited and subject to all state, federal, and local laws and regulations.

FEBRUARY'S WINNERS:

RICHARD C. BAXTER
SHELDON RANZ
DOUGLAS B. SMITH

AR DEN GOYLES

These scarecrows from the Middle Ages make wonderful garden ornaments. Our Color Catalogue features unique replica sculpture, columns and architectural artifacts for home and garden.



Phone or write for a free copy.

1-800-525-0733, ext. Z550

©1994
Design Toscano
All Rights Reserved

DESIGN TOSCANOSM

15 E. Campbell St., Dept. Z550, Arlington Heights, IL 60005



Ladies is your Man an Eternal Boy? If so, and you would like to make him the proper gentleman, then we offer a beautiful full color catalog to assist you. Great art, clothing, books and quality traditional implements. Catalog \$5, TNV, 2315-B Forest Dr., Suite 68A, Annapolis, MD 21401. CC orders 1-800-778-7428.

BUT whatever the elements of continuity between the earlier and the later Horowitz, there are also differences. If Mills had railed against "overly concerned qualitatists," he would have had in mind social reformers, the naive practitioners of what they called sociology but what was then nothing more than social work or social reform. Mills attacked them not only for being insufficiently scientific but also for being insufficiently radical, for not going to the roots of the problems they dealt with. When Horowitz uses the phrase, he has in mind the activists for all the emergent causes of the past few decades, women's rights and gay rights and homeless rights and prisoners' rights and children's rights. I am sure he would insist that he is a staunch defender of all these groups, but he does worry that the infinite extension of rights undermines some key functional and normative features of a working society.

If Mills criticized the advocates of reform in his day for not going deeply enough into the problems they wanted to ameliorate, Horowitz would criticize the advocates of reform in our day for jumping too fast to the conclusion that matters will be improved only by transforming our capitalist society root and branch. I do not think Mills thought much of people who worked on crime or the problems of the aged. Horowitz, on the other hand, thinks that one thing that has gone wrong with sociology is that sociologists no longer work pragmatically on such issues, that they leave them to criminologists and gerontologists, while they reserve themselves for higher theory, or the overly quantified studies that might lead to such.

But the key difference that strikes me is that Horowitz, once an advocate of the generally undifferentiated poor and powerless and downtrodden, has become over time much more concerned with one group, in all its specificity: Jews. Jewish revolutionaries were formerly proud of the fact that they paid no more attention to Jewish interests than to the interests of any other group. Indeed, they were indifferent to ethnic or religious groups—only classes mattered, and only the interests of the working classes deserved their concern and allegiance. "What have I to do with the troubles of Jews?" asked Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish Jewish revolutionary who was assassinated in post-First World War Germany.

Winner of the Flannery O'Connor Award
for Short Fiction

A Brief History of Male Nudes in America

STORIES BY DIANNE NELSON



"It is Nelson's tender concern for her male characters, their tongue-tied fragility, their Byzantine relation to feeling, that drives most of the stories in this first book. She takes the traditional gift of a woman—to know a man's heart better than he does himself—and turns it to real literary effect."—*Boston Review*
\$19.95 cloth

Ad supported by Utah Arts Council

At better bookstores or from

THE UNIVERSITY of
GEORGIA PRESS
ATHENS, GEORGIA 30602

Red Lion Spring



Outside the Berkshire Hills are greening. Inside, there's an unhurried world of Cobridge china, antique furniture (including a table that Lincoln dined at), hearty meals, favorite drinks. After the long winter, you owe yourself a Red Lion spring! Information and room reservations, 413-298-5545. Mass. pike, Exit 2.

THE RED LION INN

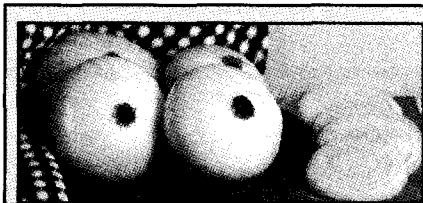
Since 1773. Box AM3, Stockbridge, Mass. 01262



BOSTON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
SEIJI OZAWA, MUSIC DIRECTOR

June 24 through September 4

For complete program and ticket information:
Symphony Hall, Boston, MA 02115 (617) 266-1492 or
Tanglewood, Lenox, MA 01240 (413) 637-5165



"How An Accident Of Nature Made The Vidalia® Onion The Sweetest Onion In The World"

Why Only Farmers Around Vidalia, Georgia, Can Grow An Onion So Sweet And Juicy You Can Eat It Like An Apple, With No Tears.

By Gordon Delo

The Vidalia Onion Store, a distributor of farm-fresh produce from Vidalia, Georgia, announced today the release of choice, select, sweet Vidalia Onions for delivery in the United States.

The authentic Vidalia Onion grows only in a small area around Vidalia, Georgia. The mouth-watering flavor of the Vidalia Onion can't be reproduced in other areas. The secret of its sweetness isn't just from its special seed stock. Instead, scientists say that the real secret lies in the unique combination of minerals in the soil around Vidalia, Georgia.

All efforts to grow sweet Vidalia Onions elsewhere have failed. In fact, by special act of the Georgia Legislature, only onions grown in this small area of southeast Georgia can bear the "Vidalia" name.

Sweet Vidalia Onions are so succulent ... so sweet and mild that they can be eaten like apples, with no tears. They're always delicious whether eaten sliced on a hamburger, chopped in a salad, or cooked with a roast. You can cook them in aluminum foil with a little soy sauce for a juicy side dish that will outshine your entree. You can even make an onion pie with them! We'll send you a recipe.

The reputation of the sweet Vidalia Onion is spreading. Ten years ago, the onions were sold mainly within Georgia. But now, the majority are shipped to other states.

We sell gourmet-quality, farm-fresh, sweet Vidalia Onions specially selected and packed with loving care. We set aside only the very best premium onions for our customers. We ship right to your door from the Vidalia, Georgia area.



To order your sweet Vidalia Onions, just return this notice with your name and street address and a check for \$14.99 plus \$3.00 shipping and handling, and we will send you a 10-pound box of perfect, select, jumbo-size, sweet Vidalia Onions to be shipped in late April or May. Or, for only \$29.99 plus \$5.00 shipping and handling, you can get a 25-pound box of jumbo-size, sweet Vidalia Onions.

Credit card holders, place your order by calling toll-free, 1-800-964-4544, 24 hours a day.

Send your check along with your name and street address to: **The Vidalia Onion Store, Dept. UXM-4, P.O. Box 1719, Vidalia, GA 30474.**

You get a no-time-limit guarantee of satisfaction or your money back.

You must cut out and return this notice with your order. Copies will not be accepted.

IMPORTANT — FREE GIFT

OFFER EXPIRES MAY 15, 1994

All orders mailed by May 15, 1994, will receive a free gift, *"The Vidalia Onion Store Recipe Book,"* guaranteed. Order right away!

Vidalia® is a Registered U.S. Trademark of the Georgia Department of Agriculture

But one need not go that far back or to such exalted exemplars to find this attitude. One can read in the radical journals published in 1940 and 1941 arcane discussions by radicals who were Jews as to whether it would not be furthering "imperialism" to favor England and France over Nazi Germany. The fact that Hitler was murdering the Jews of Poland was not considered worthy of notice by these writers, and indeed they would have been embarrassed to have to deal with it. Today the writers of many such articles would be embarrassed that such matters were then beneath their notice. This makes them particularly suspicious of those who ignore or cover over individual suffering in their advocacy of grand, historic goals. One can't make an omelette without breaking eggs, Lenin is reputed to have said. To radicals and revolutionaries, Jews, not to mention other small groups, were once the eggs whose fate should not concern revolutionaries. It seems from this book that Irving Louis Horowitz over the course of the 1970s and 1980s found his interest in Latin American revolutions and revolutionaries declining and his interest in Jews rising, and the latter could not easily be incorporated into the large theories with which he had once engaged the former.

And so we find in this book a long chapter on genocide. Horowitz is much concerned with anti-Zionism, which he sees as extending to what he considers anti-Semitism—even within sociology, with the large numbers of Jews working in it. Thus one example he gives of ideology-distorting scholarship is an article that compares land-taking, for urban renewal and the like, in the United States and land-taking, one presumes for security purposes, in Israel. "The purpose of this article," Horowitz writes, "is to show that the policies of the capitalist United States and Zionist Israel are similar: to expropriate from the poor their lands and homes in an arbitrary fashion." Horowitz labels the argument "unadulterated ideology." But I note that at least one (perhaps both) of the authors of this article bears an Arab name, and one wonders whether this is an example of ideology corrupting scholarship or, rather, simply a consequence of the changing composition of academic sociology. A good number of Palestinians, and other Near Eastern immigrants, have become academics. This must have

a consequence, regardless of ideological changes within sociology.

OVERALL, I detect a subtext in this book, not fully elucidated, which explains a good deal, including Horowitz's shift from the left wing to what is probably today considered the right wing of American sociology. Horowitz began his work as a sociologist at a time when there was still a good deal of discrimination against Jews in academic life, and when sociology was dominated by WASPs. One of C. Wright Mills's most interesting essays explores the prominence in sociology in its early days of the children of Protestant ministers of mild reformist inclinations. Jews found sociology attractive. It was particularly attractive to those who were socialists—after all, they were concerned with the class struggle, and sociology studied classes. They found much to criticize in the sociology of the day, and could make common cause with a populist mid-western radical like C. Wright Mills.

In time the Jewish newcomers became the dominant figures in sociology. Concurrently they abandoned their early radicalism, for many reasons. Their critics (new people entering the field) said this was because they were becoming more prosperous and powerful; they responded that it was because they had discovered, in part through their sociological studies, fundamental flaws in the theories and expectations of socialism. Their critics (often their graduate students) said they had changed because their own economic interests associated them with the ruling class. They said they had changed because they discovered that socialism was wrong.

Of course, there were Jews on both sides of this divide. The older scholars had come from poor backgrounds, and even though as socialists of the time they were indifferent to Jewish interests, they hadn't forgotten they were Jews—after all, they had suffered from anti-Semitic slights, and more than slights. Because of their ideology and their social background, they thought of themselves as by nature, automatically, advocates of the poor and downtrodden, even as their socialist inclinations weakened, even as their Jewish interests became stronger. To their students, and to the newer elements entering the field (including émigré Palestinians), they were simply representatives of the ruling class.

One would not be far off the mark if one considered as a reason for the "decomposition of sociology," as Irving Horowitz sees it, this complex change in what it meant to be a socialist and a Jew between the 1940s and the 1990s. The oppressed have changed, for those with socialist and progressive outlooks, from American workers to the downtrodden of the Third World, along with a congeries of groups in advanced societies. The younger progressive sociologists do not remember when Jewish Palestine, too, was a colony, oppressed by British imperialism, and live at a time when to much of the left, Israelis and Jews have become the imperialist oppressor. But other things have also happened to "decompose" sociology. Like other academic disciplines, it has been affected by a rising tide of advocacy for varied groups charging that the conventional treatment of those groups has been discriminatory and now demanding not only equality but respect and recognition; by new ideological winds

that cast doubt on the possibility of objective knowledge or truth; by a passion for what is called theory but to many of us looks like wordy nonsense; by the changing ethnic composition of the student body; and by a not fully understood rage among many young scholars at the societies (their own) that have done best in creating decent circumstances for the greatest number of their members, along with an irrational insistence that the Western and developed part of the world is responsible for the condition of the rest of it.

Those of us who entered sociology when it seemed we were at the dawn of a unified "behavioral science," as we then grandly named it, that would simultaneously do good and give us a scientific understanding of society are living through its decline. Irving Louis Horowitz does not have the whole story—who has?—but in his swashbuckling charge through sociology today he gives a good number of pieces of the explanation. ♀

BRIEF REVIEWS



The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe

by Charles Nicholl.
Harcourt Brace, 432 pages,
\$24.95.

Christopher Marlowe, admired poet, successful playwright, homosexual, and suspected atheist, was killed in 1593, officially in a brawl over a bar bill, and his killer was acquitted on grounds of self-defense. The details of the affair were lost for centuries in unexamined records and since their rediscovery have raised scholarly eyebrows, including those of Mr. Nicholl. He has done a staggering amount of research on Marlowe's companions at that fatal meeting. There were three of them—Ingram Frizer, Nicholas

Skeres, and Robert Poley. The party assembled at about ten in the morning, not at a tavern but in the house of a respectable widow who, presumably, did not accommodate uncredentialed riffraff. So who were Marlowe's companions? Two, like Marlowe, were or had been employed in the intelligence service operated by Sir Francis Walsingham, and Frizer, the killer, was a servant (in the Elizabethan sense of any salaried employee) of Thomas Walsingham, who had also done secret-service work for his senior cousin. The group certainly looks like a gathering—or should it be a snoop?—of spies. Mr. Nicholl has discovered a great deal about the Walsingham intelligence network and the kind of people included in it, and the greater part of his book presents a fascinating gallery of in-



If you've been reluctant to purchase sensual products through the mail, we would like to offer you three things that might change your mind.

1. We guarantee your privacy.

Everything we ship is plainly and securely wrapped, with no clue to its contents from the outside. All transactions are strictly confidential, and we never sell, rent or trade any names.

2. We guarantee your satisfaction.

If a product is unsatisfactory simply return it for replacement or refund.

3. We guarantee that the product you choose will keep giving you pleasure. Should it malfunction, simply return it to us for a replacement.

What is the Xandria Collection?

It is a very special collection of sensual products, including the finest and most effective products from around the world. It is designed for both the timid and the bold. For anyone who has ever wished there could be something more to their sensual pleasures.

The **Xandria Gold Collection**...a tribute to closeness and communication. Celebrate the possibilities for pleasure we each have within us. Send for the **Xandria Collection Gold Edition Catalogue**. It is priced at just \$4.00, which is applied in full to your first order.

Write today. You have absolutely nothing to lose. And an entirely new world of enjoyment to gain.

The Xandria Collection, Dept. AT0494
P.O. Box 31039, San Francisco, CA 94131

Please send me, by first class mail, the **Xandria Collection Gold Edition Catalogue**. Enclosed is my check or money order for \$4.00 which will be applied towards my first purchase. (\$4 U.S., \$5 CAN., £3 U.K.)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
I am an adult over 21 years of age:

(signature required)
Xandria, 874 Dubuque Ave., South San Francisco, CA 94080
Void where prohibited by law.

**Save 25% - 75% or More
on Name Brand Contact Lenses**

GLC

GENERAL LENS CORPORATION

Contact Lens Replacement Service
All Rx's filled - gas permeable, astigmatic,
soft, hard and bifocal.

- Daily wear from \$13.95
- Exact same lenses your doctor ordered at wholesale prices
- 24 Hour Delivery Available
- **100% Money Back Guarantee**
- **Lowest prices guaranteed**
We will beat any advertised price
- Free Cleaning Kit & UV Sunglasses
- Have your prescription, Doctor's phone number and credit card ready

CALL NOW

& register to receive a 3 month supply* of disposables for only \$39.90 or your regular lenses at discounted prices.
*2-week wearing schedule

Johnson & Johnson BAUSCH & LOMB

DuraSoft CIBA VISION BARNES & HIND

1-800-333-LENS — ext. ATL
Int'l. (305) 653-9229 — Fax 1-800-285-LENS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

Summer Programmes at Queens' College, England

Teens 14-19
July 24 - August 13
Adults July 30 - August 7
Brochures U.S. Office:
1-800-922-3552
FAX: 1-312-988-7268



UPTON TEA IMPORTS

Over 100 Varieties of Fine Loose Tea
Call 1-800-234-TEAS for an issue of the
UPTON TEA QUARTERLY
P.O. BOX 159-C • UPTON, MA 01568

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK
At A Price You Can Afford!
\$1.97 Trim Size: 5 1/2" x 8 1/2"
EACH for 500 copies, 96 pg.,
Perfect Bound book.
From \$529. Write for Price List.
800-277-8960 PROFESSIONAL PRESS
P.O. Box 3581 • Chapel Hill, NC 27515-3581

formers, entrappers, double agents, and plain rogues. He believes that Marlowe's death was calculated murder, arranged because the poet threatened to become a spanner in the works of an elaborate unofficial plot. The theory is possible, even plausible, but as Mr. Nicholl acknowledges, his evidence falls short of proof. Marlowe had a record of violence. The other three did not. It remains conceivable that the killing was indeed tipsy self-defense against a dangerously belligerent drunk, for in the eight or more hours they spent together, those people cannot have stuck to water. No sensible Londoner willingly touched that poisonous stuff.

Six Walks in the Fictional Woods

by Umberto Eco. Harvard,
148 pages, \$18.95.

Mr. Eco delivered the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard in 1992-1993, and his remarks are, as one would expect, erudite, wide-ranging, and slyly humorous. His basic theme is the character and conduct of the properly accomplished reader, meaning one who recognizes the author's intention and contributes the appropriate suspension of disbelief even in the case of what Mr. Eco summarizes as "postmodern narrative," which has "by now inured readers to every possible metafictional depravity." Mr. Eco's literary examples range from Dante to Dumas, from Sterne to Spillane. His text is thought-provoking, often outright funny, and full of surprising juxtapositions.

Cats in the Sun

by Hans Silvester. Chronicle,
144 pages, \$29.95.

Mr. Silvester, a travel photographer noted for patience as well as skill, must have used all of the former in his study of cats on the Greek islands. Such cats are not household pets, although a few do, by persistent association with particular humans, establish rights to particular doorsteps. The islanders view them rather as independent fellow citizens whose efficiency in rodent control entitles them to respect and support. Mr. Silvester, who evidently enjoyed his reputation as "the fool who runs after the cats," pho-

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY • APRIL • 1994

CLASSIFIED

BOOKS/PUBLICATIONS

YESTERDAY'S BOOKS LOCATED FOR YOU by professionals. No obligation. Out-of-State Book Service, Box 3253X, San Clemente, CA 92674-3253. (714) 492-2976.

SELF PUBLISHERS: Get your book printed! Free samples and information. Pine Hill Press, P.O. Box 340, Freeman, SD 57029. (800) 676-4228.

GET PAID FOR READING BOOKS! \$100 per book. Send name, address to: Calco Publishing, Department C-575, 500 South Broad, Meriden, CT 06450.

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED, all types. Company with 70-year tradition. "Author's Guide to Subsidy Publishing." (800) 695-9599.

LAWSUIT AND ASSET PROTECTION - Build financial fortress against creditors, IRS, tenants, patients, investments, lawsuits, judgements. Free details. Ultimate Source, P.O. Box 509-AM, Cedartown, GA 30125.

EARN MONEY PICKING STOCKS. First time offered 32-page stock investment booklet only \$8.95. David Town, P.O. Box 3211, Warminster, PA 18974.

NEWS FROM TURKEY, in English, since 1962. Politics. Business. Human rights. Free information: TDN, 18222 Flower Hill Way, #191A, Gaithersburg, MD 20879.

EDUCATION/INSTRUCTION

LEYSIN AMERICAN SCHOOL IN SWITZERLAND, grades 9-12, and post graduate year. Summer language program, theater, arts. U.S. admissions. Telephone: (603) 431-7654.

FREE SAMPLE LESSON IN FRENCH, SPANISH: 30 languages by telephone. Teacher calls you. Proven, patented. Beginners - Advanced. Textbook(s), phone charges supplied. Free brochure: Dial-A-Language®, (800) 222-3433.

HARVARD SUMMER WRITING PROGRAM. Cambridge, MA. June 27 - August 19. Write: Harvard Summer School, Department 460, 52 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

GENERAL INTEREST

HOME TYPISTS, PC users needed. \$35,000 potential. Details. Call: (805) 962-8000, Extension B-20061.

GOVERNMENT HOMES, HUD, foreclosures, seizures. Way below market value! Government financing. Your area. (800) 434-5977, Extension GH 7310.

AUTOMOBILE literature wanted. 1900-1975. 1 buy automobile sales brochures, manuals, etc. Walter Miller, 6710 Brooklawn, Syracuse, NY 13211. (315) 432-8282. FAX: (315) 432-8256.

MERCHANDISE

GOVERNMENT SEIZED cars, trucks, boats, computers, televisions. Surplus! Bargains galore. Your area: (800) 601-2212, Extension SP7310.

SERVICES

INVENTORS: Don't be fooled. Call our Inventors Club 24 hours for free information. (800) 466-1793.

SERVICES

SINGLE NON-SMOKERS, make a date to find your mate nationwide. SNI-USA, P.O.B. 294-am, Chesterfield, NH 03443-0294. (802) 257-6400.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, a national group, has been getting unattached people together since 1970. Write: P.O. Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039. (610) 358-5049.

SINGLE SCIENCE/NATURE ENTHUSIASTS are meeting through Science Connection, a nationwide membership organization. Contact us for information: (800) 667-5179; P.O. Box 188, Youngstown, NY 14174.

TRAVEL

SAVE ON UNUSUAL CRUISES: Freighters, expeditions, yachts, etc. TravTips, Box 218A2, Flushing, NY 11358. (800) 872-8584.

TEEN BICYCLING TRIPS through the countryside and cultural centers of the world. 25th year. (800) 343-6132.

ALLAGASH CANOE VACATIONS with Gil Gilpatrick. Free brochure. Call: (207) 453-6959. Or write: Box 461-A, Skowhegan, ME 04976.

WEDDINGS! Unique ceremonies in romantic tropical locations. Weddings The Island Way, Box 11694, St. Thomas, USVI 00801. (800) 582-4784. (809) 776-4455.

VACATION RENTALS

LISMORE CASTLE, IRELAND: Fully staffed. Parties of 4-12. Minimum one week. Tennis, golf, fishing. Details from: Michael Penruddock, Lismore Castle, County Waterford. Telephone: 011-353-58-54424.

JAMAICA: Staffed beachfront villa, unspoiled south coast fishing village. Tennis, snorkeling, birding. By week. (203) 247-0759.

ITALY/UMBRIA (TODD): Private garden apartment in historic hilltop country house. Outstanding location. Richardson, 06050 Izzalini, (PG). (39) 75-885-3252.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

RATES: Word Ads: \$7.95 per word (minimum 15 words). *The Atlantic Monthly's* guaranteed paid circulation is 450,000. All advertisements must be accompanied by check or money order payable to *The Atlantic Monthly* and must be received no later than April 5th for the June issue. Send us your ad copy (please type or print) with your payment and the coupon below.

Please insert my ad _____ times, beginning with the _____ issue.

Heading _____

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____

Company Name _____

Contact Person _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____

Telephone _____

For complete information, please call or write:

The Atlantic Monthly

Classified Department, P.O. Box 1510, Clearwater, FL 34617
National (800) 237-9851 • Local (813) 443-7666
FAX (813) 445-9380

tographed cats dozing, playing, arguing, politely accepting small tributes, and marching in dignified procession with a prospective source of provender. He filmed one cat airborne between gunwale and quay with a fish in its mouth, another dealing with an uncivil dog, and another working a mouse through twelve amazing shots. These must be the finest pictures ever taken of cats, both for the variety of the actions and for the absence of any attempt by the photographer to make the animals anything but their feline selves. The backgrounds of soft-edged, human-scale island architecture are an additional delight.

Brazil

by John Updike. Knopf.
260 pages, \$23.00.

Mr. Updike's latest novel begins in Brazil in the 1960s and follows the adventures of socially mismatched lovers whose flight from her father's thugs takes the pair all across the country and backtracks through its history. The fine scenic descriptions and grimly detailed sexual antics are normally Updikean, but in other respects the book is a picaresque tale with the what-next? pull proper to the genre and some dialogue that appears to be a deliberate pastiche of eighteenth-century style. Readers looking for significance beyond the interest of the immediate action will have no trouble finding it.

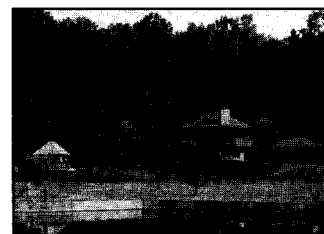
Born Naked

by Farley Mowat.
Houghton Mifflin/Peter Davison,
272 pages, \$21.95.

Mr. Mowat's attractive memoir reveals that he was a most fortunate child. The family finances were initially precarious and his father's enthusiasms were always erratic, but space was limitless and parental tolerance very nearly so. Young Mowat's own enthusiasm was for the world of animals, birds, insects—any form of "the Others" aroused his interest and sympathy. The results of the boy's observant collecting and cossetting were now and then hilarious, possibly useful, and in one instance led to the end of his employment as the local paper's junior correspondent on birds. He wrote a precise description of the mating habits of

Earn The Living You've Dreamed Of... Right In Your Own Dream House!

Live in a stunning Eagle's Nest home with design features not found elsewhere at twice the price. Models as low as \$17 per sq. ft.



Earn \$5,000 to \$15,000 per home...

- Quality
- Design Flexibility
- Keep Present Employment

The only qualification you need is the ability to purchase or mortgage a \$25,000 model which may be finished as a home to live in, or sell, or completed as an office, condo, duplex, or other commercial enterprise.

For a FREE full color brochure:

Call Mr. Aycox
at 1-800-579-1079 (24 hrs.)
Fax: (404) 720-7605, or write:

Eagle's Nest Homes, Inc.
205 Eagle's Nest Dr.
Canton, GA 30114-7972

Authors

Do you have a *Manuscript*?
Does it deserve *Publication*?

The largest Co-partnership publisher in the U.K. welcomes work on all subjects for free appraisal:

The Adelphi Press

(Dept AUSAI) 4-6 Effie Road Fulham
London SW6 1TD

GOOD VIBRATIONS



Friendly, informative catalogs of sex toys, books & videos. \$4, applied toward first order.

1210 Valencia #AX,
San Francisco, CA 94110

JUNGIAN SEMINARS

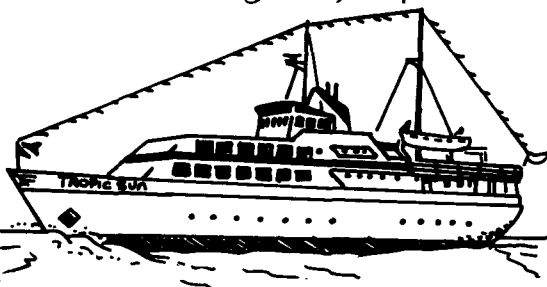
London: July 10-16, 1994 / Zurich: January 2-14, 1995

These seminars, led by internationally-known Jungian analysts and scholars, offer exceptional opportunities for intensive study of the psychology of C.G. Jung, with time for personal reflection. For more information, call (800) 258-3533.

JUNGIAN SEMINARS

190 Westbrook Road, Essex, CT 06426-1511

*Magnifico!
C'est Magnifique!*



Join the beautiful and intimate yacht-like 50 passenger M. V. Tropic Sun in her maiden season. All cabins are outside and feature twin beds which are convertible to a king size bed.

Cruises on the French and Italian Rivas, the beautiful and unspoiled Islands of the Adriatic Sea, plus three special Mediterranean cruises.

Prices from \$1795 per person, double occupancy.

Special low cost air fare available.



Lufthansa

SEA AIR
HOLIDAYS, LTD.

"THE QUALITY CRUISE PEOPLE"

733 Summer Street
Stamford CT 06901
203-356-9033
1-800-732-6247

YES! Please send me the 1994
Tropic Sun Cruise Brochure.

AM

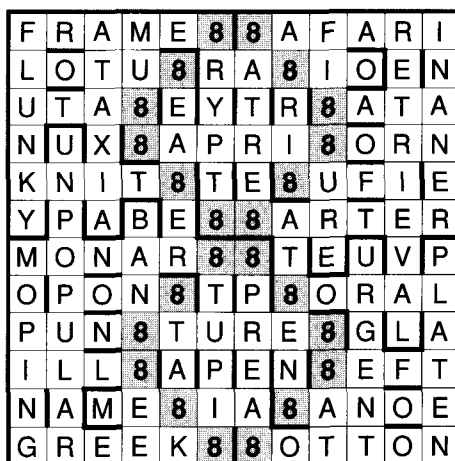
Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

ANSWERS TO THE MARCH PUZZLER



"Crazy Eights"

Across. 1. F(R)AME'S 5. SA(FA)RI 10. LOT-US 12. R(AD)IO 13. U(TA)H (at rev.)
14. DA-TA 16. CAPRI-CORN 17. K-NITS 18. SU-FI (rev.) 20. CHARTER (double def.)
22. M(ON)ARCH 27. PO(N)D 29. C-ORAL 30. PUN-C(T)URES 32. I(LL)'S 33. DEF-T
34. M-EDIA (aide rev.) 35. CAN(O)E 36. G-REEKS 37. COT-TON (not rev.) Down.
1. FLUNK-Y 2. A-TAX-IA 3. MUSH (double def.) 4. CRY-PTS 5. HAT-RED 6.(b)AC(k)-
RID 7. FISSURE (homophone) 8. RETR(I)EVAL (anag. + i) 9. IN(A)NER 11. D(E)ADER
(anag. + e) 15. UN-PO(PU)LAR (up rev.) 19. BAN(SHE)E 21. A(THE)NS 22. MOP-IN-G
23. STUP-ID (rev.) 24. SP(y)-READ 25. UR-GENT 26. PLA(T(ir)E)N 28. S(T)ACK
31. C(H)AT

the ruddy duck, and proofs were leaked to a member of what Robert Burns called the "unco guid." Mr. Mowat did not pursue his alleged talent as a pornographer. He stuck to wildlife and oddball explorations and spirited comedy and is still at it, to the great good fortune of his readers.

The Partisan

by Benjamin Cheever.

Atheneum, 261 pages,

\$21.00.

Mr. Cheever's novel concerns the difficulties of a writer who has lost his publisher. Jonas Collingwood is a veteran novelist with an impressive literary reputation and an unimpressive sales record. He has been published for years by an outfit that profits from the sale of farm-equipment catalogues. They are placid people who are rather proud of Collingwood and never presume to interfere with their author. When this amiable firm sells out to a hustling house misnamed Classic Publishers, poor Collingwood is confronted with blathering editorial nonsense, demands that he write a memoir of his service in the Second World War, and promises of unprecedented amounts of money. Collingwood is not used to large amounts of money. His adopted son, who tells the story, his adopted daughter, who snarls on the sidelines, and various family connections are all caught up in the ensuing gale of complications. Mr. Cheever is an amusing writer with a gift for sharp dialogue and evocative description. "The church was a stone fortress, built on a rise and with a halo of cracked and crooked tombstones. The positioning was excellent for defense, the walls thick enough to stop small-arms fire. One was given the distinct impression that the forces of evil would be coming soon, on foot, and equipped with pikes and harquebuses."

Lethal Passage

by Erik Larson. Crown,

288 pages, \$21.00.

This book, subtitled "How the Travels of a Single Handgun Expose the Roots of America's Gun Crisis," grew out of the January, 1993, cover story in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

—by Phoebe-Lou Adams

WORD WATCH

by Anne H. Soukhanov

food insecurity *noun*, used as a euphemism for malnutrition and hunger, or the fear of them, among some members of the U.S. elderly population: "[A new Urban Institute] study determined that 2.5 million to 4.9 million elderly Americans suffered from *food insecurity*, about 40 percent of them with incomes above the poverty line. . . . the study reported higher levels of *food insecurity* among elderly renters, who had to pay for housing, than among homeowners, many of whom had paid off their mortgages" (*Washington Post*).

BACKGROUND: *Food insecurity* is but the latest in a long list of terms that by their indirection reflect society's unease with subjects deemed unpleasant or taboo: think of *case* or *patient* (used by funeral directors for a corpse), *core rearrangements* or *events* (industry terms for nuclear accidents), and, of course, *Final Solution* and its descendant, *ethnic cleansing*. As Hugh Rawson, the compiler of *A Dictionary of Euphemisms & Other Doubletalk* (1981), put it, "euphemisms are society's basic *lingua non franca* . . . [the] outward and visible signs of our inward anxieties, conflicts, fears, and shames."

grease-trap theory *noun*, the view, put forth by some resident law officers, that Florida's high incidence of violent crime is tied to the migration into the state of thousands of people a week, some of whom are or become criminals: "Detectives across the state explain the [bizarre crime] phenomenon succinctly. They call it the '*grease-trap theory*.' When the weather up north starts turning cold, the scum start moving south" (*U.S. News & World Report*).

BACKGROUND: Detectives and other observers believe that Florida's climate and location draw a

A selection of terms that have newly been coined, that have recently acquired new currency, or that have taken on new meanings, compiled by the executive editor of The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Third Edition.

disproportionate share of people on the run, for whom Florida can seem to be "the last stop"; the state is also the first stop for many immigrants who are traveling north. Florida's runaway growth—900 citizens are added each day—and low taxes contribute to social problems, including a prison system so overcrowded that the great majority of criminals serve no more than 30 percent of their sentences. Especially overburdened is the state's juvenile-justice system: 17,000 juveniles are tried each year in Dade County alone, most of them repeat offenders.

pharming *noun*, a genetic-engineering technique by which the embryos of livestock are injected with human genetic mater-

ial encoded to produce chemicals normally generated only by the human body, so that blood, proteins, and organs from the fully grown animals can be used in medicines and cross-species organ transplants. Also called *barnyard biotechnology*, *gene pharming*, *molecular pharming*, *transgenics*: "This marriage of high-tech biology and low-tech agriculture, known as '*pharming*,' has long intrigued the biotechnology industry" (*San Francisco Chronicle*).

BACKGROUND: Many scientists believe that *pharming* could, in time, be as important to medicine as the introduction of antibiotics in the 1940s. It has its roots in the creation, in 1982, of the first *transgenic* mouse, by injecting human growth hormone into

mouse eggs. Scientists engaged in *pharming* are currently attempting to produce in the blood of rabbits alpha-1-antitrypsin and erythropoietin, rare proteins used to treat emphysema and cancer-caused bone-marrow damage, respectively; to cultivate pigs as sources of transplantable hearts, livers, and kidneys and of hemoglobin; and to develop cows that can mass-produce lactoferrin, an important protein found in human breast milk. The practice is controversial, however: critics contend that *pharming* could irreversibly change the genetic makeup of animal species, and they raise ethical objections to the prospect of corporations' patenting, and profiting from, human genetic material.

SSAWS *acronym*, "spring, summer, autumn, winter, snow": "You'll see a 25-story-tall metal box on stilts . . . ; that's the ski resort. Specifically, that's 'LaLaport SkiDome SSAWS,' the biggest indoor ski resort on earth, with a slope 240 feet high and 1,500 feet long, covered with a fairly powdery manmade snow that has the same consistency year-round. . . . The basic lift ticket at SSAWS, covering two hours of skiing, is \$54 for adults and \$41 for children" (*Washington Post*).

BACKGROUND: The SSAWS (pronounced "zausu") described above is in Japan, where eight indoor ski areas have sprung up in the past five years, including two that are just minutes from downtown Tokyo. These resorts were created for the so-called can't-wait ski market—those who can't wait for the first snowfall of the year to get on the slopes. The areas come complete with rental skiwear and equipment, chairlifts, "advanced" and "intermediate" slopes, and all the usual après-ski facilities: restaurant, ski shop, gift shop, health club, and sauna.



Illustration by Michael C. Wille

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"THERE ISN'T A PERSON
TO DRIVE A GM VEHICLE



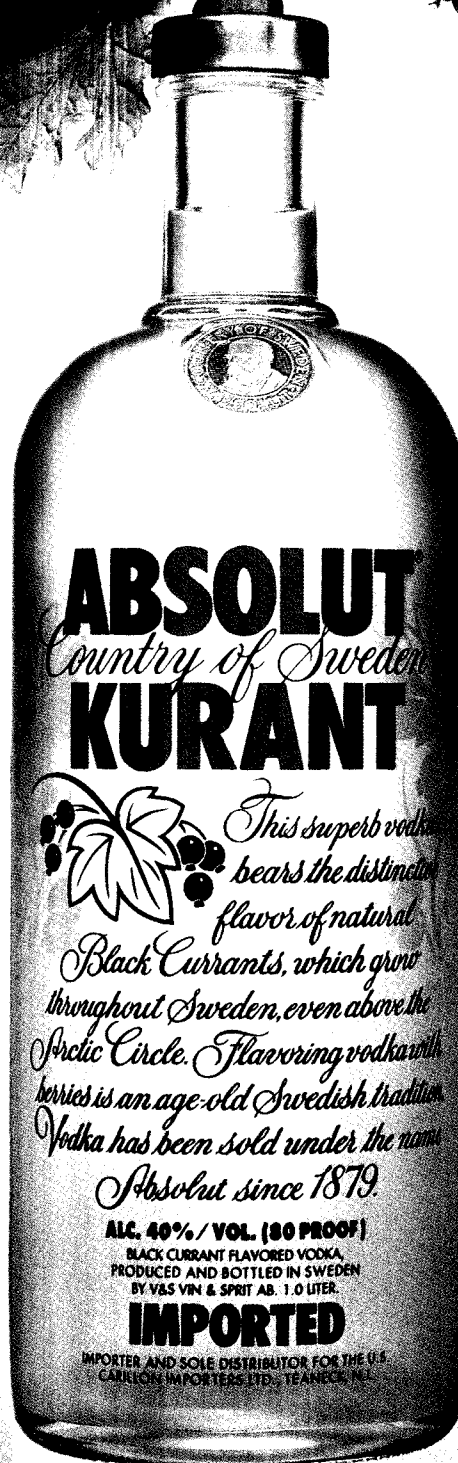
There are at least four things in life that are truly indispensable: food, air, shelter, love. But people can always find a way to muddle through without General Motors products. This is how GMC Truck Division head Roy Roberts explains what satisfying today's customer is about to him.

IN THIS PLANET WHO NEEDS
IN ORDER TO LIVE."



Motors

eam: "Build something so right for your customers, they can't imagine living without it." This strikes us as a pretty good definition. After all, General Motors cars and trucks, no matter how much we labor over their creation, have something the "four indispensables" don't. Competition.



ABSOLUT
Country of Sweden
KURANT

*This superb vodka
bears the distinctive
flavor of natural
Black Currants, which grow
throughout Sweden, even above the
Arctic Circle. Flavoring vodka with
berries is an age-old Swedish tradition.
Vodka has been sold under the name
Absolut since 1879.*

ALC. 40% / VOL. (80 PROOF)

**BLACK CURRANT FLAVORED VODKA,
PRODUCED AND BOTTLED IN SWEDEN
BY V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. 1.0 LITER.**

IMPORTED

**IMPORTER AND SOLE DISTRIBUTOR FOR THE U.S.
CARILLON IMPORTERS LTD., TEANECK, N.J.**

ABSOLUT HARVEST.

FOR GIFT DELIVERY OF ABSOLUT® KURANT™ BLACK CURRANT FLAVORED VODKA (EXCEPT WHERE PROHIBITED BY LAW) CALL 1-800-243-3787. PRODUCT OF SWEDEN.
40% ALC/VOL (80 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN VODKA & LOGO, ABSOLUT, ABSOLUT BOTTLE DESIGN
AND ABSOLUT CALLIGRAPHY ARE TRADEMARKS OWNED BY V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. ©1993 V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. IMPORTED BY CARILLON IMPORTERS, LTD. TEANECK, N.J.